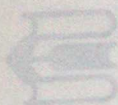


PROGRESS
Guides to the Social Sciences



The Basics of Marxist-Leninist Theory

PART ONE

MARX AND ENGELS - THE FOUNDERS OF THE SCIENTIFIC
WORLD OUTLOOK OF THE PROLETARIAT

A MARX AND ENGELS: THE ROUTE TO MATERIALISM
AND DIALECTICS

1. The Development of the Scientific World Outlook of the Proletariat

2. The Development of the Scientific World Outlook of the Proletariat

3. The Development of the Scientific World Outlook of the Proletariat

4. The Development of the Scientific World Outlook of the Proletariat

5. The Development of the Scientific World Outlook of the Proletariat

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE TENTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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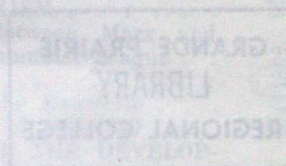
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THE TWENTIETH INTERNATIONAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY



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ОСНОВЫ МАРКСИСТСКО-ЛЕНИНСКОГО УЧЕНИЯ

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Introduction

Ideas become a material force if they take possession of the masses. This tenet of Marxism-Leninism is fully applicable to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism itself. This revolutionary teaching, created by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and developed under new conditions, in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, by the genius of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, has taken possession of the minds and hearts of millions of workers throughout the world to become a mighty force transforming the globe, the banner of the increasingly powerful world communist movement.

In the countries of the world socialist community, Marxism-Leninism informs the creative activity of the masses, who are building a society whose motto is: "Everything for man, everything in the name of man".

In the capitalist countries, Marxism-Leninism is the weapon of the working class and of all working people in their struggle against the dominion of the bourgeoisie, against the exploitation of man by man and social inequality.

For the peoples of the developing countries, the theory of Marxism-Leninism serves as a reliable guide in their efforts to remove the remnants of colonialism, poverty and backwardness, to resist the policy of fiat used by the monopolies of powerful capitalist states and to carry through progressive social changes.

What is the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development? What were its historical and philosophical sources? How was it developed and enriched by experience of the class struggle of the proletariat? How was it put into effect by the International founded by Marx and Engels, by the workers' parties and during the testing times of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia and the popular-democratic and socialist revolutions in other countries? Finally, how does it find its practical realisation in the life of the Soviet

state, in the world socialist system and in the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, democracy and socialism? These are the questions examined in the present book, whose authors have attempted to show the birth and development of a new world outlook in connection with the growth and consolidation of the working class movement and in connection with the activity of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The life of the founders of Marxism-Leninism is a shining example of selfless service to the cause of the working class and the liberation of all working people. Their brilliant theoretical works were not the fruit of abstract speculation but the result of studying and generalising the actual revolutionary experience of the working masses and of exercising direct leadership of the proletarian movement. Revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice supplemented and enriched each other at the various stages in the development of the communist movement.

In a popular work such as this it is, of course, impossible to discuss the full range of complex issues connected with the rise and development of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their revolutionary-reformative effect upon mankind. The authors have therefore concentrated upon the key, basic questions of revolutionary theory and practice in the hope that this will lead the reader to consider these problems more closely for himself and study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Lenin is known to have warned against a superficial study of Marxism limited to merely learning its formulas, conclusions and slogans by heart. He called for "a study of communism" enriching one's mind with a knowledge of the entire human heritage and for the daily application of this knowledge in practical activity.

Part one

MARX AND ENGELS—THE FOUNDERS OF THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK OF THE PROLETARIAT

I. Marx and Engels: the Route to Materialism and Communism

Historical Preconditions Leading to the Formation of the Views of Marx and Engels

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the two great champions of the cause of the liberation of the working class, were born at the beginning of the nineteenth century in small towns on the left bank of the river Rhine in the centre of Western Europe. What were the events and ideas that characterised this period of history? The end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century in Europe was marked by unprecedented social upheavals—the birth pangs of a new, bourgeois social system replacing the feudal society. Serfdom was collapsing and the thrones of absolute monarchs were tottering. In France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Poland and Greece millions rose up to oppose oppression and defend their rights, revealing their power to the ruling classes.

The French Revolution marked the starting point. The storming of the Bastille in 1789 by the populace of Paris, the promulgation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the formation of a republic and the execution of the king were events that not only shook France itself but that reverberated through every corner of old, feudal Europe. However, the bourgeoisie did not allow the people to enjoy the fruits of their revolutionary gains. They turned them to their own advantage and secured for themselves, economically, legally and politically, the right to free enterprise and exploitation of the workers.

In the developed capitalist countries of the period, therefore, first in England, which already had large-scale industrial production, and then in France, the proletariat began to organise itself to act energetically in defence of its rights. It grew in strength and engaged in revolutionary struggle. The same, though on a lesser scale, happened in Germany.

If the economic and political development of Germany at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries was relatively slow and sluggish, this was certainly not the case as regards its intellectual and cultural development in the fields of philosophy, ideology and literature. The French Revolution was preceded by the flowering of the age of great Enlighteners such as Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Holbach and Helvetius. Their critique of religion and the feudal system, their ideas on the transformation of society in accord with "the demands of Reason", their theory of man, who is born free only to become the slave of circumstance, all served to prepare public opinion in the country for the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the feudal monarchy and the struggle to secure the triumph of the ideals of Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood.

However, these ideals were not, and could not be realised under the existing conditions. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the French philosophy of Enlightenment seemed to have run its course. It was precisely at this point that the thinkers of neighbouring Germany began to make themselves heard. They responded to the French Revolution by erecting a philosophy that struck at the religious-dogmatic philosophy typical of feudal society. Put forward by Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, this was the philosophy of the rising young bourgeoisie. For all its limitations, its failure to push the arguments to their final conclusion, this philosophy was imbued with a belief in reason, opening up the way for human initiative and scientific enquiry. It offered men the possibility of intellectual and moral self-perfection, though this was understood within the framework of the bourgeois concepts of the duties, rights and allotted position of the individual, of the immutability of private property and the right of one man to exploit another.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century saw an upsurge in the intellectual life of France and the spread

of the ideas of utopian socialism as formulated by Saint-Simon and Fourier. Certain historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers), pointing to the class struggle, sought a new understanding of the development of society. The Rhineland was at the confluence of two cultures—German and French. It was this part of Germany that felt the full impact of the revolutionary storms shaking neighbouring France, and across it flowed the current of freedom-loving, enlightening, materialist ideas. Here German classical philosophy collided with French utopian socialism and the satirical humour and wit of French letters combined with the tendency towards fundamental and detailed analysis typical of the Germans. In addition, industrial production began to develop in the Rhineland earlier than in any other part of Germany. Commerce flourished and the working class was born and grew in strength. All these factors worked together to create favourable conditions for the flowering of the genius of Marx and Engels.

The Development of Marx's Personality and View of the World

Karl Marx was born on 5 May 1818, in the small and ancient town of Triers in the southern Rhineland. His father, Heinrich Marx, was a lawyer whose professional skill, erudition, unquestioned integrity and willingness to help anyone in need had won him the recognition and respect of his fellow citizens. The family was large but well provided for. Heinrich Marx strove to bring up his children in the spirit of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau and Lessing. Karl showed an early interest in reading.

In 1830 Karl Marx entered the Triers gymnasium, where he studied for five years. He studied diligently, although he showed little taste for cramming or for learning religious texts by rote, the main demands made of gymnasium pupils. His intellectual world was formed largely by independent and intensive reading and by his association with his father and a small group of friends.

The young Marx could not remain unaffected by the problems his father encountered as a lawyer: the poverty of

the working people, crying social injustice, the contempt of the powerful for the impoverished, the political trial of those who opposed the authorities. Still young, he began to think of devoting his life to the struggle for a better life for the people, for justice. These thoughts and feelings were reflected in the essay 'Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession', an examination paper taken prior to leaving the gymnasium, and were to attain their fullest development when Marx reached maturity. "...We cannot always..." he wrote, "attain the position to which we believe we are called; our relations in society have to some extent already begun to be established before we are in a position to determine them..." The adolescent is rejecting the philistine ideal of personal success. "If he works only for himself, he may perhaps become a famous man of learning, a great sage, and excellent poet, but he can never be a perfect, truly great man."¹ On the threshold of independent life, Marx formulates a concept that will, in effect, become the motto of his life: "To work for mankind".

As a student at Berlin University, Karl Marx makes the acquaintance of leading literary figures, attends lectures by liberal professors, takes part in student debates and develops his interest in art and literature. His range of interests is wide, including history (in particular antiquity) and drama, aesthetics and poetry, philosophy. In 1837 Marx ceased his literary pursuits, having come to the conclusion that he can make no progress in any branch of science, for example jurisprudence, without first studying philosophy. Indeed, as Engels was to write later, if one wishes to develop and perfect the capacity for theoretical thought, 'there is as yet no other means than the study of previous philosophy'.²

Marx attempted a critical interpretation of the philosophy of Hegel, who then had a large following at Berlin University. Marx was both attracted and repelled by Hegel. He was deeply impressed by Hegel's dialectic, by his attempt to grasp the world in its development, in motion, in the

struggle of opposites. He recognised in Hegel a gigantic philosopher who had dared to draw into one philosophical system the entire development of the universe, the whole of science and art. However, this system was idealistic in that, for Hegel, the creator of the natural world was the "world spirit", thus making the idea prime over matter. Marx began to doubt whether Hegel was right, and in order to resolve these doubts he turned to the source of philosophy, to the philosophers of Ancient Greece.

From among the numerous philosophical trends of antiquity, Marx chooses to examine the ideas of Democritus and Epicurus. Both were materialists and moreover, developed the theory that matter is composed of basic, indivisible particles—atoms. The fact that Marx selected the philosophies of the major Greek atomists and materialists reveals the direction in which he was moving in his search for a new world view. The Hegelian system could not be superseded within the framework of idealism. No idealist philosophy could be of any help in this regard. Only the age-old materialist tradition could offer a solution.

Marx chose the philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus as the theme of his doctor's thesis, which he successfully completed in 1841. This thesis reveals that, while Marx has not yet adopted a fully materialist outlook, he is already dissatisfied with idealism. This work, together with the preparatory manuscripts, contains a profound criticism of Hegel and his reactionary followers, the so-called right-Hegelians. Marx also sharply criticises the theoretical basis of religion, in particular the principles used to prove the existence of God and the immortality of the soul.

In the last three years as a student, Marx moves from a struggle against religious hypocrisy and religious morality to a decisive rejection of religion. At that time, criticism of religion was one of the forms of protest against the feudal-monarchical system in Prussia, which had the blessing of the official church. Marx's friends from the left-wing, more progressive followers of Hegel (the so-called Young Hegelians) became enthusiastic critics of religion and theology.

Purely theoretical speculation did not satisfy the young doctor of philosophy. He wished to combine philosophy with reality, that is, to take an active part in politics. The writ-

¹ K. Marx, "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, pp. 4, 8.

² F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 400.

ing of articles and pamphlets offered just such an opportunity and in 1842 Marx joined the staff of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and later became its editor-in-chief. The newspaper became the platform from which he launched his passionate attacks against the Prussian system, against the rule of feudal lords and state bureaucracy, against social privilege and press censorship, and from which he spoke in defence of the labouring and oppressed masses. He came into direct contact with the destitution of the masses and considered it his "political duty" to speak out publicly in the pages of the newspaper "in the popular language of need which the conditions of life in our native land make it impossible to forget". In this way the young Marx declares himself for the first time as a convinced revolutionary democrat.

Marx's brilliant articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, well-written, profound and politically biting, could not but draw public attention. They also could not fail to excite the wrath of the Prussian authorities. At the beginning of 1843 the newspaper was banned.

Following the closure of the newspaper, Marx decided to leave Germany. He set out upon this new period of his life with Jenny von Westphalen, to whom he had been engaged for more than seven years and who had selflessly waited for him all that time. In Jenny Marx found a loyal partner for life. In the words of Engels, she "not only shared in the fate, the labour and the struggles of her husband but herself took part in them with the greatest understanding and burning passion".¹

The young couple travelled to Paris, then the centre of European culture and science and the focal point of the revolutionary movement. Political exiles arrived here from various countries and now there was dissatisfaction with the bourgeois system, which had replaced the high ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood with the selfish pursuit of wealth, so acute. Paris was the birthplace of the first workers' organisations. It was here that socialist thought first appeared and matured. The great utopian philosophers, Saint-Simon and Fourier, were succeeded by a galaxy of followers. The capital of France offered the clearest picture of

¹ F. Engels, "Jenny Marx, geb. v. Westphalen" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 291.

the development of class contradictions and collisions, of bitter political struggle, and thus it was here in Paris that Marx finally adopted a scientific, communist world outlook.

In order to create a revolutionary theory and formulate a genuine slogan of struggle it was necessary to sum up the experience of class struggles both past and present. Marx had already begun his study of this experience in Germany, but in France the conditions for such a study were incomparably better. This study of past and present experience naturally caused Marx to ponder on the following questions: if the whole of history is the history of the struggle of the classes, which class is at present the carrier of revolutionary energy? To which class does the future belong, and what is that future?

Still determined to link theoretical speculation with real life, Marx established contacts with revolutionary groups of German craftsmen and French workers. In their reports the police noted that Marx attended meetings of revolutionary workers at one of the Paris gates. As he became directly acquainted with the life of the workers, Marx was more and more impressed with the moral energy, the unquenchable thirst for knowledge and the noble humanity of the worker-revolutionaries.

Marx began a critical study of utopian socialism and communism, which took its origins directly from French materialism. The French utopian socialists Saint-Simon and Fourier, after a detailed criticism of bourgeois society as one that went against the principles of humanism, had turned their attention to the proletariat; however, they saw it only as an oppressed and suffering section of society worthy only of pity and charity from those in power.

Contrary to the utopians, Marx concludes that the proletariat is far from being merely the object of sentimental outpourings, but is a force capable of revolutionary action. *The proletariat—that is the connecting link between theory and practice, between philosophy and life!* In other words, the proletariat is called to realise in practice the ideas of a society free from exploitation. Marx formulated this discovery in his article "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction", which was published in the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher* first issued at the beginning of 1844.

The emancipation of man, affirms Marx in this article, cannot be achieved without the elimination of "every kind of bondage", and the proletariat is precisely the class which has the fewest rights and is the most oppressed. The proletariat cannot liberate itself without liberating all sections of society.

What would the new society be like? Answering this question in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx describes communism as a society of genuine and complete humanism that offers all its members the possibility of all-round development.

Marx has thus taken a decisive step forward; he has found both a genuine slogan of struggle (the struggle for the ideals of communism) and also the material force that is capable of realising these ideals (the working class).

In this way the twenty-six-year-old Marx arrived at a new, genuinely scientific view of the world and the life of society, which was possible only after enormous creative work. He assimilated and critically reworked the entire European heritage in philosophy and other spheres of social thought. However, and most importantly, Marx consciously adopted the position of the oppressed masses, and in particular the proletariat, the most revolutionary class of all time.

Marxism arose not only as the summation and interpretation of the intellectual achievements of mankind but also (and in the final analysis this factor was decisive) as the reflection of specific economic and socio-political tendencies in the development of bourgeois society—a historically transient society doomed to defeat.

Vladimir Lenin considered that Marx's transition to communism "was finally made" in 1844.¹ It is then that a scientific communist world outlook emerges. However, many years of research and principled struggle lay ahead in order to develop this world view in all its directions: in philosophy, in political economy and in scientific socialism. This work Marx was to carry through together with Engels.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 80.

The Formation of the Personality and World View of Frederick Engels

Frederick Engels was born on 28 November, 1820 in the town of Barmen, in the north of the Rhine Province of Germany. His father, also Frederick Engels, was a textile manufacturer and a man of conservative political and religious convictions, who tried to bring up his children accordingly. Young Frederick differed sharply from his brothers and sisters—cheerful and with a lively imagination. He soon revealed a wide range of abilities in languages, history, literature, music and drawing. He was equally at home in the natural sciences, the humanities, mathematics and poetry.

In 1837, Engels, on the insistence of his father, took up the study of commerce, first in his home town of Barmen, and then in the city port of Bremen. However, he revealed little interest in business and devoted as much time as he could to self-education, to the study of literature, history, languages and music. He developed a growing interest in the political and ideological movements then current in society and soon dropped religious belief to become a convinced atheist. He was an eager reader of forbidden literature exposing the Prussian political system. At the age of nineteen, he published "Letters from Wupperthal" in which he pointed to the poverty of industrial workers and exposed the heartlessness and cynicism of manufacturers whose merciless exploitation included even children. He realised that his political convictions required theoretical foundation and turned to a study of Hegel, from which he drew revolutionary conclusions. He was attracted by the sense of history in Hegel's thinking and by Hegel's recognition of the inevitable collapse of all that became irrational.

In 1841, Engels set out for Berlin to perform his military service. Here he combined service in the artillery brigade with attending lectures at Berlin University and active participation in literary and philosophical circles. He spent only one year in Berlin, but in that short time he shifted considerably towards a new world view. Plunged into the very heart of the ideological battle and closely following the development of the ideas of utopian socialism, he came to the conclusion that communism alone could provide a full answer to mounting social problems. However, the ways

and means of establishing the classless society still had to be determined.

Further changes affected the course of Engels' life in these years. His father sent him to England on business on behalf of the firm in which he was a co-partner. On his way to England, Engels stopped in Cologne. Here, in the office of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, he had his first meeting with Marx, of whom he had already heard not a little. However, the meeting was purely official and did not lead at this point to personal friendship. Marx asked Engels to send in articles for the newspaper.

In the autumn of 1842 Engels arrived in London, and from there he went to Manchester, a major industrial centre, where he took up residence and where he was to spend two very busy years.

England was then the leading industrial country of the world, and here the workers' movement was also the most developed. The English proletariat had already realised its power and its demonstrations were assuming an organised, mass nature that merged into the Chartist movement. The Chartists were attempting to give the workers' struggle a political character; they conducted a campaign for a general political strike and for the adoption by Parliament of a People's Charter containing demands for universal suffrage and equal representation in Parliament of all sections of society. The English proletariat lived in poverty. The working day lasted 12 hours and longer and female and children's labour was brutally exploited.

Engels studied the political life of the country and the position of the working class. He visited workers' districts, talked with the workers, witnessed the dreadful conditions in which they worked and lived, made the acquaintance of leaders of the workers' movement, prominent Chartists, and studied statistical and documentary material on the work and life of the workers.

Engels soon dispatched several articles to the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the condition of the working class, and Marx published them without delay. One article was entitled "The Condition of the Working Class in England". In these articles Engels for the first time speaks of the proletariat as a special class and draws the bold conclusion that "only a forcible abolition of the existing unnatural condi-

tions, a radical overthrow of the nobility and industrial aristocracy, can improve the material position of the proletarians".¹ Here Engels is, in essence, formulating the thesis of *the necessity and inevitability of the proletarian revolution*, which will sweep away not only the feudal aristocracy but also the big bourgeoisie.

As Marx, in Paris, is preparing the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher* for publication, Engels sends him a series of articles which includes "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy". He decides to investigate the economic relations of bourgeois society as the basis from which flow all its contradictions and vices including even the rise in crime. Within the relations of private capitalist property he discovers a concealed mechanism underlying the development of the whole of society and permitting the disclosure of the opposing interests of the manufacturers and the workers, the inevitability and implacable nature of their conflict and the heartless inhumanity of the bourgeois world in which everything is based on competition.

Marx read and re-read this work by Engels, took notes, analysed it and saw both its strong and its weak points. Later, in his mature economic works, he frequently referred to this article, which he described as "a brilliant essay on the critique of economic categories".²

Marx's estimation of the book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* was even higher. In this work Engels presented the conclusions he had drawn from direct observation of the life of the English industrial proletariat and also reviewed existing statistical data and documents. It represented a fundamental research into the position and role of that class which was destined to fulfil the world-historic mission of burying the system of oppression and exploitation and creating a new society. It was also a passionate indictment of the bourgeoisie. Engels writes: "I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and other crimes on a massive scale... It need hardly be said that my blows, though aimed at the panniers, are meant for the donkey, namely the German bourgeoisie, to

¹ F. Engels, "The Internal Crises" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 374.

² K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 22.

whom I make it plain enough that they are as bad as their English counterparts, except that their sweat-shop methods are not as bold, thorough and ingenious."¹

The book is rich in new conclusions and ideas, and in it Engels already reveals a clear understanding of the leading role played by economic factors in the life of society. He was the first to give a scientific analysis of the industrial revolution, in which manual and craft labour is replaced by machine labour. The social result of the development of bourgeois production, as Engels showed, is the concentration of large masses of workers at one pole of society and large-scale capital at the other.

This work produced a deep impression upon contemporary society, was translated in many countries and served for many progressive people as the stimulus to a study of scientific socialism and to active participation in the revolutionary proletarian movement. Also instrumental in its success was the clear, impassioned and graphic style typical of Engels' writings.

Vladimir Lenin highly valued this work by Engels. He remarked that "neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class".²

In concluding it should be emphasised that the new world outlook, the world outlook of the working class, which Marx and Engels arrived at independently, did not arise by chance. Its appearance was historically inevitable. *It was essential to the proletariat, which had emerged onto the historical arena and was preparing for its first serious battles with the world of capital; it was essential as a compass, as a programme of action for the impending struggle.*

¹ "Engels to Marx in Paris" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, pp. 10, 11.

² V. I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963, p. 23.

II. The "Manifesto of the Communist Party"— the First Policy Document of Marxism

The Beginning of Collaboration Between Marx and Engels. The Organisation of the Communist League

In August 1844, Engels returned from England to Germany, stopping in Paris to meet with Marx. Marx, full of admiration for the articles Engels had sent him, was eager to meet him and a friendship was formed immediately. The two young men were inseparable during the 10 days that Engels spent in Paris, and engaged in frank discussions of the issues attracting their interest. Their agreement was total. By this time both had come by their different routes to the conclusion that a socialist revolution was inevitable and that the proletariat would be its driving force. The two friends started their joint work fired with enthusiasm, regularly exchanging ideas in their correspondence. The first result of this collaboration was the book *The Holy Family*, published in 1845. In this sharply polemical work, aimed at exposing petty-bourgeois ideology, Marx and Engels provided the philosophical validation of their revolutionary views.

A year later they completed the next fundamental work—*The German Ideology*, in which they put forward a materialist concept of history in the form of a well-articulated scientific theory. This book contains the basic philosophical conclusions maintained by Marx and Engels throughout their lives and which they were to develop and elaborate in their later works.

The German Ideology was not published during the lifetime of its authors. By the time it was completed Marx and Engels had totally immersed themselves in the political

movement and were occupied with the propagation of their revolutionary views. The main item on the agenda was the creation of a proletarian party, to which end Marx and Engels had long been conducting organisational and propaganda work.

In the beginning of 1845, Marx moved to Brussels, where he was soon joined by Engels. Here the situation was more favourable to political activity. This was the period that saw the rise of the bourgeois-democratic movement in Western Europe, a movement in which the proletariat was taking an increasingly active part. Various workers' organisations, secret societies and sectarian groupings arose that had no clearly defined programme of action and were under the influence of the ideas of utopian and petty-bourgeois socialists. One of the largest of such organisations, with branches in a number of countries, was the League of the Just. Its motto was "All Men are Brothers" and its members called for the establishment of "the Kingdom of God on earth", based on the ideals of "love of one's neighbour", equality and justice.

At the beginning of 1847, Marx and Engels joined the League of the Just and took part in its reorganisation. The first congress of this league took place in London and confirmed the renaming of the league the Communist League. The former motto "All Men are Brothers" was replaced by the slogan of proletarian internationalism "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" This slogan, which had first appeared in the draft rules of the Communist League, became the militant slogan of the international workers' movement.

The foundation of the Communist League—the first international workers' organisation which proclaimed scientific communism to be its militant banner—marked the beginning of the union of Marxism and the workers' movement. Ahead lay the enormous task of implementing the decisions adopted at the congress, of strengthening the League both ideologically and organisationally and of increasing its links with worker and democratic organisations.

On 29 October, 1847, the second congress of the Communist League took place again in London, and was attended by representatives from Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, England, Poland and other countries. It was the first international congress of the proletariat to record in its

decisions the ideas of scientific communism. The Rules of the Communist League, adopted at the congress, declare the aim of the League to be: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the destruction of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonism and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property.

Marx and Engels were asked to draw up a *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in order to set clearly and openly before the world the programme of the Communists. This, the major document of the age, was written in two months, from December 1847 to January 1848. Reading the *Manifesto* gives enormous intellectual satisfaction. Each should discover this for himself, pondering over each sentence of this famous revolutionary document. Therefore we shall look only at the basic ideas and structure of this Marxist classic.

The Great Ideas of the *Manifesto*

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* opens with the now famous metaphor: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism". In the classics of Marxism the images are always unusual, significant and profound. Why is communism a spectre? Because, as is made clear in the ensuing text, communism was still an intangible, blurred and undefined concept. Therefore, the time had come to make clear what the reality of communism, and not the spectre or imagined communism, was, communism not merely as a theory but also as a specific political movement.

The *Manifesto* was also intended to define that ideological-political trend which, from the scientific point of view, had the right to call itself communist, and differentiate it from all other forms of unscientific (utopian, Christian, feudal, petty-bourgeois) communism and socialism. Therefore the *Communist Manifesto* was the first policy document of Marxism, of scientific communism.

The *Manifesto* is characterised by concise lucidity. It is divided into four sections: I. Bourgeois and Proletarians; II. Proletarians and Communists; III. Socialist and Communist Literature (this section shows the attitude of Communists to non-scientific communism); IV. Position of the

Com-munists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties.

The scientific-materialist concept of the development of society, discovered by Marx and Engels, permeated the entire content of the *Manifesto*. The history of society appears before the reader as the history of class conflict; the slave-owner and the slave in antiquity, the feudal lord and the serf in the age of feudalism, constituted antagonistic classes who were mortal enemies and who waged an unending struggle that led to the revolutionary transformation of society: the slave-owning society gave way to feudalism, feudalism gave way to the bourgeois society with its two basic and opposing classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Why and how did these classes emerge? Marx and Engels give a clear and precise answer to this question, devoting particular attention to an analysis of the classes in bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie of the time of Marx and Engels was the product of a long historical process. The spread of trade and the expanding market developing in the heart of feudal society had stimulated the activity of craftsmen and merchants. The first manufacturing enterprises appeared, based on manual labour and uniting together small-scale craftsmen. With the appearance of machines, large-scale industry was born, together with the class of bourgeois-dealers, entrepreneurs, manufacturers and bankers. In the course of revolutionary upheavals, this class drove back the feudal aristocracy and seized power, winning political supremacy.

The bourgeoisie entered onto the historical scene as a revolutionary class. Its progressive struggle against feudalism for the abolition of serfdom, social privilege and feudal division of land was of major revolutionary significance. They broke down the obstacles to the rapid advance of industry. An international market was created, and as a result production lost its national and isolated character. The material and intellectual activity of each country was woven into a single fabric of international links and relations.

In a very short space of time the bourgeoisie had created productive forces more powerful than those of all the preceding generations taken together: large-scale machine production, shipping, railways, the telegraph, etc. However, Marx and Engels also show the other side of the picture. The

bourgeoisie did, indeed, destroy feudal, patriarchal relations and shatter the bonds of serfdom, but, at the same time, it left no other link between man and man than naked interest, the callous cash payment. "It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade."¹

The bourgeoisie did indeed make the fruit of the intellectual and cultural activity of individual nations accessible to all, but at the same time it turned the doctor, the lawyer, the poet and the scientist into its hired labourers. It did indeed revolutionise the productive forces, that is, it created large-scale industry, powerful means of production and exchange, but it is growing more and more to resemble a magician that cannot control the "underground" forces his incantations have called forth.

Just as feudal relations had once become fetters restricting the development of industry and trade, so also, in the period of bourgeois development, signs were appearing that indicated that the productive forces had become "too powerful" for bourgeois relations, which were now impeding the development of these forces. Foremost among these menacing signs were crises, epidemics of over-production. The authors of the *Manifesto* thus defined the basic contradiction of capitalist society as the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production.

In the productive forces, the bourgeoisie has, therefore, "forged the weapons that bring death to itself..." However, it forged them using the hands of others, the hands of the workers. In so doing it generated the very class that will turn against it the weapon of death—the class of proletarians.

Clear and impressive are the pages of the *Manifesto* devoted to the position of the working class. The workers are compelled to sell themselves as a commodity. Driven together in the factories, they are organised like soldiers. They find themselves under a many-faced despotism—the bourgeois state, the manufacturer, the superintendent, even the machines, of which they are but the adjuncts. "No sooner

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 487.

is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, and he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.'¹

Marx and Engels do not stop at this representation of the proletariat as "the suffering class". Analysis leads them to the conclusion that the proletariat is a fighting class and the most consistently revolutionary social force. It is with this class that the future lies. What are the factors substantiating such a conclusion?

Firstly, insofar as the proletariat grows in numbers and is concentrated together in factories, its power and organisation is also increasing. Workers are united in professional unions, and are organised as a class, as a political force opposing the bourgeoisie. Secondly, the bourgeoisie itself, in its political struggle against feudalism, is frequently compelled to turn to the working class, to draw it into the struggle for its interests, and thus draw it into the political movement. The working class takes its first lesson in political development from the bourgeoisie, and it learns the lesson well. The bourgeoisie is obliged to give the workers an elementary education. Bankruptcy forces some sections of the ruling classes, including intellectuals, into the ranks of the proletariat, which also increases the role of the proletariat as an independent political force. Thirdly, the proletariat is a genuinely revolutionary class because it is the product of newly-formed social conditions; it is a young class growing in strength from year to year. "The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."² Fourthly, "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."³

At the time when the *Manifesto* was being written, petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and utopian socialists frequently

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

² *Ibid.*, p. 494.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

exposed capitalism and the bourgeoisie from the moral point of view. They produced stern warnings about the inhumanity of bourgeois relations, about the cynicism and mercenary nature of the bourgeoisie, about the domination of profit and naked self-interest. On this basis it was concluded that bourgeois society went counter to human nature and calls were made for love, brotherhood and justice.

The *Communist Manifesto* expressed a radically new position. It also contains pages exposing the bourgeoisie. It is indeed true that the bourgeoisie is the embodiment of crying social injustice, and it will suffer inevitable defeat in the struggle with the proletariat, but this will not happen as a result of moral sermons. Those who are zealous for the happiness of men may reproach and censure the bourgeoisie as much as they will for its inhuman exploitation of the workers; it will nonetheless continue to devise ever more effective ways of continuing the exploitation. However, as the wealth of the bourgeoisie grows, so does the army of those producing the wealth. "The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination... The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."¹

If the march of history is itself drawing capitalism to its death, does it not follow that the working class and the organisations it generates should merely wait for the inevitable outcome? Certainly not! Marx and Engels argued the necessity of the struggle of the working class and the leading role of Communists, whose advantage over other proletarians is "the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement".²

The triple aim of communist activity is clearly defined: "formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 496.

² *Ibid.*, p. 497.

bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat".¹

The authors of the *Manifesto* put forward the positive programme that Communists intend to carry through and those principles and ideas that they defend. These principles are not the product of abstract reasoning, not something invented and brought into the workers' movement from outside. "They merely express, in general terms actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."²

The most important point in the programme of the Communists is the abolition of bourgeois private property. The authors of the *Manifesto* are careful to emphasise that this does not mean personal property, property earned by one's own labour. As for bourgeois property, it is a social and not a personal force. Capital standing over against labour "is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion".³

This proposition is of fundamental importance. If capital is a social force, but belongs to private individuals, then its transformation into collective, social property is an act that is historically natural and just. In developing this idea, Marx and Engels enter into direct polemics with bourgeois ideologists defending large-scale private ownership of the instruments and means of production. Faced with the prospect of the abolition of private property, these ideologues pictured the worst imaginable: the suppression of all individuality and originality, of all freedom and independence, universal indolence and—final horror!—the abolition of family and native land.

The *Manifesto* exposes such inventions, thought up to frighten the average man and fill him with fear at the thought of the approaching proletarian revolution.

Of what personal individuality and independence is one talking in bourgeois society? Here only capital has independence and individuality, while the worker is deprived

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

of independence and rendered faceless. What is the freedom preached by bourgeois ideology? The freedom to trade, to purchase and to sell, the freedom to exploit and enslave the labour of others. This is the "freedom" the Communists wish to abolish. They are opposed to the bourgeois system of education, which turns the worker into an accessory of the machine. The products of intellectual labour, as material products, should be accessible to the whole of society. This is the "communist method of appropriation".

In the torrent of slander launched against the Communists, the most frequent accusation was that they allegedly wished to abolish marriage and introduce the holding of wives in common. Marx and Engels turned this accusation against the bourgeois themselves. The bourgeois sees his wife simply as a tool of production—the production of children. Thus, insofar as the Communists wish to socialise the means of production, women—so they argue—will meet the same fate. Nothing could be more comical, note the authors of the *Manifesto*, than this "virtuous indignation of the bourgeois". The communality of wives, official and unofficial prostitution, has always existed in bourgeois society. The aim is precisely the abolition of a situation in which the woman is simply a means of production, the abolition of the bourgeois form of the family, based on financial considerations, the ending of the exploitation of child labour and the introduction of free education of children.

Finally, Marx and Engels show the invalidity of the accusations made against communism from the religious, philosophical and generally ideological points of view. Without discussing these in detail, the authors develop the concept that all spheres of intellectual development—philosophy, politics, law, morality and religion—always transform themselves with the transformation of material production. The communist revolution will generate the most radical break with all forms of social awareness inherited from the past.

The *Manifesto* clearly formulates the idea of the conquest of power by the working class and the establishment of their rule, that is, in fact, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the

State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."¹

The proletariat interferes in bourgeois relations by means of a number of economic measures, eliminates the old relations and finally destroys the conditions for the existence of classes completely, thus also destroying its own domination as a class.

Marx and Engels formulated the supreme humanist principle and aim of all these transformations: the creation of a society in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".²

In the concluding chapter of the *Manifesto* the authors define the attitude of Communists to other opposition parties in bourgeois society. Of permanent significance here is the definition of the strategic objectives of Communists—Communists are fighting in the name of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but also defending the future of the movement in the present. Communists support any revolutionary movement anywhere that is directed against the existing social and political system. They give priority to the question of property as the fundamental question. They strive to achieve unity and agreement among democratic parties in all countries.

These are the principles that have governed the communist movement from that day to this. Its banners carry the fiery words of the *Manifesto*: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

"WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"³

The World-Historic Significance of the *Manifesto*

The *Manifesto* was first published in a small edition in German at the beginning of 1848, the year of revolutions. Shortly thereafter it was translated into a number of languages—English, French, Polish, Italian, Danish, Flemish

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

² *Ibid.*, p. 506.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 519.

and Swedish. The first Russian translation appeared in 1869 in Geneva. The *Manifesto* is now one of the most popular political publications in the world.

In the *Manifesto*, Marxism appeared for the first time as a well-articulated programme for transforming the world. "With the clarity and brilliance of genius," declared Vladimir Lenin, "this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society."¹

The whole course of the development of the world communist movement spanning the more than 130 years that have passed since the appearance of this work, has proved the truth and scientific validity of the ideas contained in the *Manifesto*. The revolution foreseen by Marx and Engels has now become an accomplished fact in a number of countries. The scientific prognosis of the inevitability of the abolition of private property, exploitation and inequality is a living reality in the countries of the socialist community.

Bourgeois ideologists, together with revisionists, slander the great ideas of the *Manifesto* and represent them as being now outdated. The conclusion made by Marx and Engels concerning the proletariat as the main revolutionary force and the grave-digger of capitalism is subjected to savage attacks. However, history repeatedly exposes these bourgeois "theoreticians", revealing the growing power of the workers' movement throughout the world and the leading role played in this movement by communist and workers' parties. When the *Manifesto* was written, the Communist League had only 400 members. By the time of the October Revolution, there were already 400 thousand Communists. Today more than 70 million Communists are living and fighting under the banner of the *Manifesto* and around 100 communist parties are active throughout the world.

How, precisely, are the ideas of the *Manifesto* being realised today?

The ideas of the *Manifesto* are being realised first and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 48.

foremost in the building of a new society in the socialist countries, the perfection of all the aspects of this society, and the consistent and unswerving application of the principle "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".

They are being realised in the comprehensive strengthening and successful development of the world socialist community and each fraternal socialist country.

They are being realised in opposition to exploitation and oppression, in a selfless struggle against imperialism and war and for peace among peoples.

They are being realised in the struggle to achieve the basic class aims of the proletariat in the non-socialist area of the world and to defend their vital interests.

They are being realised in the struggle for national liberation and for the strengthening and development of the revolutionary gains won by people who have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism.

They are being realised in unswerving loyalty to proletarian internationalism and a ceaseless struggle for unity among Communists and for solidarity among all the anti-imperialist forces of the modern world.

They are being realised in the absolute rejection of any manifestation of ideologies hostile to socialism—bourgeois and nationalist, reformist and revisionist. It consists in a struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for its creative application and development.

The *Manifesto* was and remains the guide-book of every conscious worker, every Communist. Its whole significance is summed up in the expressive words of Lenin: "This little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world."¹

{ Marx and Engels in the Revolution of 1848-1849

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* could not have been published at a more appropriate time. In February 1848, a revolution took place in France; the people over-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24.

threw the "king of the bankers", Louis Philippe, and proclaimed a Republic. In March revolution spread to Austria, Italy and Germany. A liberal bourgeois government came to power in Prussia.

The revolutionary upsurge found Marx and Engels in Brussels. The time had come to move from theoretical work to practical leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

The revolutions of 1848 were bourgeois in nature, but they revealed the proletariat, particularly in France, as the leading revolutionary force. The French proletariat gave the bourgeoisie total power and "now, however", as Engels commented perceptively in an article written in response to the February revolution, "it is no longer one section of the bourgeoisie confronting another, now the proletariat confronts the bourgeoisie".¹

In Brussels Marx and Engels undertook intense organisational and propaganda activity, becoming the official leaders of the Communist League Central Committee. However, the police were also not wasting time. Marx's flat was searched, and he and his wife arrested and then expelled from the country. They left for Paris, where they were joined by Engels. Together they established contacts with revolutionary organisations and their leaders, elaborating questions relating to the strategy and tactics of German Communists during the revolution.

In April 1848, Marx, Engels and a group of their closest comrades returned to Germany and decided to publish in Cologne a newspaper that would be the organ of revolutionary democracy. In order to emphasise continuity with the newspaper that Marx had published in Cologne in 1842, it was decided to call the new paper the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

From the very start the pages of the new newspaper were infused with the spirit of the class struggle. In numerous articles, Marx and Engels analysed current events, indicated the line to be followed by the revolutionary forces, subjected to merciless criticism the cowardice and half-heartedness of the bourgeois opposition and mocked its leaders for their vacillation, indecision and lack of principle.

¹ F. Engels, "Revolution in Paris" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 558.

Marx and Engels campaigned for the democratic unification of Germany and the proclamation of a republic. They therefore called for the unity of all democratic forces. However, reaction soon moved everywhere into the counter-attack. The uprising by the Parisian proletariat in June 1848 was ruthlessly suppressed by the bourgeois government. In Prague, the military put down revolt at the point of a sword. In Prussia opposition parties were persecuted and their publications closed down. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* "was the only one that held aloft the banner of the crushed proletariat when the bourgeoisie and petty philistines in every country were pouring vicious slander upon the defeated".¹

Despite intensified persecutions on the part of the authorities, the newspaper continued to be printed, calling for energetic opposition to reaction, branding as shameful the bloody carnage caused by counter-revolution in Paris and Vienna, and supporting the national liberation struggle in Hungary and Italy and the popular uprisings in various provinces in Germany.

The last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published on 19 May, 1849. In this last edition Marx noted that the newspaper, the revolutionary organ of the proletariat, was also the courageous and consistent defender of the genuine national interests of the German people. "We," he wrote with pride, "have saved the revolutionary honour of our country."² The editorial addressed to the Cologne workers read: "In bidding you farewell the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: **emancipation of the working class!**"³

Popular unrest was still continuing in certain regions in the south-west of Germany; armed workers were striving to maintain their demands, insurgent detachments were

formed and barricades erected. Unfortunately, the insurgents were divided and acted in isolation. Marx and Engels did all they could to unite them, to work out a common plan of action against counter-revolution and spread the revolt to the whole of Germany.

During one of their trips, Marx and Engels were arrested as insurgents and sent to Frankfurt, where, however, they were fortunately able to obtain release. The two friends had to part. Marx went to Paris, while Engels remained in Germany where, in the Palatinate he joined the insurgent detachment led by Willich, a member of the Communist League. The detachment waged a bold fight against government troops. Engels developed the operational plans and himself took part in four large-scale battles, displaying heroism and daring.

The revolution of 1848 and 1849 was defeated. This was explained by the nature of the age, when, to quote the words of Lenin, "the revolutionary character of the bourgeois democrats was *already* passing away (in Europe), while the revolutionary character of the socialist proletariat had *not yet* matured".¹

Participation in this revolution permitted Marx and Engels to test their theory in practice and to build a revolutionary strategy and tactics upon a strictly scientific basis. The entire course of events validated their thesis that the European bourgeoisie had already exhausted its revolutionary character and that now it was the proletariat that was stepping out into the arena of history as the leading revolutionary force.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "In Memory of Herzen", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 26.

¹ F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848-1849" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 21, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 22.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, "Articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, March 6-May 19, 1849" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 454.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

III. A Revolution in the Views of the Development of Society

Marxism and Its Component Parts

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and in some of their other works, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels set forth the basic principles of a new, proletarian, genuinely scientific world view, which were then developed by them throughout the rest of their lives.

Marxism is a well-articulated and integrated teaching consisting of three organically inter-related parts: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism (communism). In each of these fields Marx and Engels brought about a revolution, studying and critically assessing everything of value previously produced by human thought and elaborating, on the basis of a summation of the experience of class struggle, a radically new theory of social development.

We will first describe the revolutionary change brought about by Marx and Engels in the field of philosophy, and mainly in the field of philosophical views of the development of society, and then turn to political economy and scientific socialism.

The Discovery of a Materialist Concept of History

The philosophy of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism—was the first to provide a strictly scientific concept of the general laws governing the development of the natural world, society and thought. Marx and Engels attached great importance to a philosophical substantiation

of the scientific world view, and this is natural. The success of the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of society requires the knowledge of how, in accord with what laws, this society develops, what is its structure and how the various parts of this complex social organism act upon each other.

Society arose and develops as part of the material world and represents the highest form of its development. This means that, in order to understand it, it is necessary to understand how the material world develops and how mankind emerged from the animal kingdom and became the author of the miracles of technology, science and art. The philosophy of Marxism answers all these questions.

In what consists the radically new contribution made by Marx and Engels to philosophy?

Philosophy, as we know, arose in antiquity, when men began to reflect upon how the surrounding world had come into existence and how it was organised, and on the place of men within the universe. The whole history of philosophy is the history of a struggle between two opposing trends—materialism and idealism. *The basic question of philosophy is the question of the relation between thinking and being*, that is, the question as to which is prime, mind or matter. On the basis of their answer to this question, thinkers were divided into *materialists* and *idealists*.

The idealists affirmed that mind (intellect, soul, etc.) existed before matter and is its creator. This concept served and still serves as the philosophical basis for religious concepts of the creation of the world by God and the immortality of the soul. The materialists considered that the world was not created by any god and was not the product of any intelligence or mind. In contrast to the idealists, the materialists based themselves upon the actual fact that human awareness reflects objects existing independently of this awareness.

The idealists, on the basis of the supposition that mind generates matter, creates it, concluded that the highest form of activity is intellectual activity, and no practical activity. Thus people's attention was diverted from the real processes of life to intellectual processes, to phenomena in the sphere of consciousness, and with these phenomena completely divorced from and put in opposition to the aware-

ness of reality (for example, in religion)—to “another” world. Materialists, on the other hand, recognising the primacy of matter, the real world, set the task of correctly, faithfully reflecting reality, which is the essential condition of practical activity.

However, pre-Marxist materialism was unable to understand the material world in its continuous historical development and change. That matter was in a state of constant change was always recognised, but this change was seen as purely mechanical, as the endless repetition of the same leading always to the same result.

Using the achievements attained in the natural sciences, and primarily in mechanics, the materialists attempted to construct their philosophical system in accord with its laws. Man was seen by some of these materialists as being a “machine with a soul”. The French materialists of the eighteenth century developed the theory that man is created by circumstances, that the surrounding world acts upon the formation of his thoughts and opinions. This was a progressive conclusion. However, they were unable to appreciate another aspect of the inter-relationship between man and the surrounding world—that of the active, transforming, material, practical activity of man during which the surrounding world is changed, and man is also changed. Marx and Engels therefore characterised previous materialism as mechanical or metaphysical, i.e., non-dialectic.

Within the framework of idealist philosophy, however, and particularly in the philosophy of Kant and Hegel, *dialectics* was developed, that is, the theory that everything is in constant change and development, and that the latter is achieved via contradiction, by the conversion of phenomena into their opposites. Naturally, this was seen as related only to the world of ideas, of thoughts, and not to the material world. Idealistic dialectics reached its peak in the system erected by Hegel. He understood the world as an endless process of perfecting, of development from the lower to the higher and ever-more complex forms, but represented this development as the working out of the “world spirit”.

Materialist philosopher Feuerbach was the first to spot this flaw in idealist philosophy. He strove to “reverse” the Hegelian system by removing its idealist presuppositions,

that is, by proceeding on the basis that mind is the highest product of matter and not vice versa. With his criticism of official religion and the idealistic flaws in the philosophy of Hegel, Feuerbach played an enormous role in forming the world outlook of Marx and Engels. However, they very quickly saw the limitations of Feuerbach's philosophy also. He was not able to understand the “rational kernel” of Hegelian philosophy, its dialectics, and was therefore unable to overcome the passivity, the purely contemplative nature of contemporary materialism.

This problem was solved by Marx and Engels. They showed that the dialectics is not limited to the intellect, as the idealists thought, but underlies the whole material world. Our intellect, the highest product of the development of matter, is dialectic, active, capable of comprehending contradictions, because these are the processes present in purely material reality. Our intellect is secondary to that material reality, is the product of highly organised matter (brain) and is therefore capable of accurately reflecting and understanding material processes.

In saying this, Marx and Engels were basing themselves on conclusions drawn in the natural sciences, according to which our surrounding world is the result of a long historical process, that the solar system emerged as the result of natural processes, that life on our planet also emerged under the influence of natural factors and that its forms perfected themselves, leading eventually to the emergence of man and human society.

There was, however, one essential feature that united all idealists and materialists prior to Marx: both were idealist in their interpretation of social phenomena. They both firmly believed that the development of society was based on ideas, on aspirations, on the human will. The deeds of great individuals, generals and monarchs, their caprices, interests and intents, were represented as the driving force of history and social change.

The French materialists, for example, placed all their hopes upon the enlightenment of the masses, on the belief that the rulers and their people had only to assimilate the rational ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood, and the world would be transformed accordingly. Only Marx and Engels succeeded in consistently extending materialism

to the history of human society, or, in other words, in formulating a *materialist concept of history*. What is the essence of this discovery?

Marx and Engels reasoned as follows: men must first eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before they are in a position to engage in politics, science and art. Therefore they must first produce the necessary material goods; they must labour. Therefore it is precisely the level of the economic development of society, its material-productive base, that explains its political structure and its various ideological views, etc.

Such a fact seems self-evident. However, it took the genius of Marx and Engels to appreciate it and to use it as the basic concept in understanding the entire history of human society. *It is not intellectual activity as such, thinking for the sake of thinking but the creative material-productive activity of men that is the mainspring of the development of human society.* In the process of his activity, man changes both the material world and himself, changes the conditions in which he lives. This means that *it is not individuals, heroes, rulers and generals who create history, as had been asserted by pre-Marxian thinkers, but primarily whole peoples, the broad masses of working people who created the material values that are the basis of civilisation and culture.*

However, Marx and Engels did not stop at merely stating this fact. They went further. It was important that history be understood as an integrated, articulated process, evolving according to its own dialectic laws. This was achieved by the theory of socio-economic formation.

Socio-Economic Formation

In the course of the process of production, men engage in two kinds of relationship. Firstly they interact with nature. It is natural material with which men are mainly dealing in the production process: metals, wood, chemical products, etc. They are subjected to the appropriate changes and thus serve to satisfy human needs. From this natural material, men fashion specific tools, instruments, in order to increase their productive possibilities.

Man, the tools of labour he has created, the objects of

labour, in other words all that is involved in the production of material goods, is referred to as the *productive forces*, of which the most important is man himself, possessed of knowledge and skills, labour qualifications. Without man the most highly perfected, highly developed technology is dead and can produce nothing. Even modern automated systems work in accordance with the programme fed in by men and under their close control and guidance.

Men cannot produce as isolated individuals, but only communally. Of determining significance in this is the form of ownership of the *means of production*—technology, industrial premises, transport, raw materials—all that is necessary for production. If all of this is under collective ownership, then the relations between men are relations of equality and freedom from exploitation. If, however, the means of production belong to only one group (class) of the population, and the other is deprived of ownership, the resultant relations are such that one class has the possibility of enslaving the other, of living and growing rich at the cost of the other. From this spring specific forms of distributing the material goods and specific forms of organising society, when the class of owners, with the help of the state (the law, the army, the police, prisons, etc.) also oppresses the workers politically. Thus the form of ownership of the means of production lies at the heart of the relations that develop between men in the production process—the *production relations*.

The productive forces and the production relations together form the *mode of production*. Slave-owning, feudal and bourgeois forms of ownership are terms describing the corresponding exploiter modes of production and the relations between the basic classes—slaves and slave-owners, serfs and feudal lords, proletarians and bourgeois.

If we have understood the nature of the production relations dominant in any given society, and even more importantly, the property relations, then it is relatively easy to recognise the nature of all the other social institutions—political, juridical, ideological and religious. They rise above the production relations as the *superstructure* above its foundation, its *base*, are determined by this base and, in turn, act upon it.

It must be emphasised at this point that these views of

society advanced by Marx and Engels are consistently materialist. The productive forces are, naturally, material. The production relations are also material, as they exist independently of the awareness of men, that is, objectively. The mode of production, which unites the productive forces and the production relations, is also material. It determines the ideological, political and other life of society. Marx writes: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."¹

The mode of production, speaking figuratively, constitutes the skeleton of society, skeleton that is given flesh and blood by all the other social phenomena, relations and institutions. All of this constitutes a living whole, a particular social system, a *particular socio-economic formation*.

There are five such formations in history—primitive communal society, slave-owning, feudal, bourgeois (capitalist) and finally the communist social formation, the first phase of which—socialism—was first established in the USSR and then in a number of other countries.

How does the transition from one socio-economic formation to another occur? What are the inner causes?

Marx gave clear and precise answers to these questions. The main cause of the development of society from one formation to another is the inter-relations between the productive forces and the production relations. At a certain point in their development, the productive forces start to come into conflict with the production relations to which they previously corresponded but which they have now superceded. The old forms of ownership, on which are based specific classes and their particular interests, begin to act as a brake on the further growth of production. "Then," writes Marx, "begins an era of social revolution."² The revolution snaps the chains of the previous relations and establishes a new form of ownership, together with a new socio-economic formation.

This is what happened, for example, with feudal relations in a number of countries in Western Europe in the

eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The feudal order was holding back the development of industry and it was swept away in the course of popular revolutionary movements and social changes. This is what happened in Russia when, as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the land was given to the peasants, and the factories to the workers and the economy developed at an unprecedented rate.

Social revolution, having established new production relations—bourgeois, for example, replacing feudal—creates the need for a corresponding restructuring of the political, ideological and other institutions. It must be noted, however, that the ideology of that class which will become the ruling class in the new society, rises and develops within the framework of the old society, takes active part in the criticism of the outdated order and prepares public opinion for the necessity of revolutionary changes.

On the basis of these and other factors, the founders of Marxism always emphasised not only the conditioning of the superstructure by the base, but also the effect of the superstructure, in its turn, upon the base. "Political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, and other development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. One must not think that the economic situation is *cause*, and *solely active*, whereas everything else is only passive effect. On the contrary, interaction takes place on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself."¹

A characteristic feature of bourgeois ideologists, then as now, was overemphasis on one or other single factor in social development to the detriment of another: either ideas and ideals, or technology and the organisation of production, or the level of national income and the production of material goods. In contrast to these one-sided and therefore unscientific theories, Marxism-Leninism bases itself upon an analysis of the inter-relationship of all aspects of social life while singling out in this inter-relationship one main,

¹ K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*

¹ "Engels to W. Borgius in Breslau, London, January 25, 1894" in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, pp. 441-42.

determining and leading force—the mode of the production of material goods.

Marxism-Leninism always sees behind the economic, social, political processes living people, classes with their interests, requirements, and the aims they set themselves, with their level of culture and education. People are the creators of their own history. In the process of their activity they transform nature, society and themselves. The fact that society does not develop chaotically, arbitrarily, but in accord with immutable laws, does not lessen but, on the contrary, vividly demonstrates the role of the popular masses as the creators of history. They create history in two ways: they create and multiply all the material, intellectual and cultural values and, by their revolutionary struggle, overthrow outdated social relationships and establish new, more progressive ones.

Types of Socio-Economic Formation

As Marx and Engels noted, men are distinguished from humanoid apes—their nearest relatives in the animal kingdom—by the ability to work and to fashion tools. It took our remote ancestors millions of years to learn how to fashion and use the first simple tools from fragments of stone, animal and fish bones. With the appearance of these first work implements, the hand of man perfected itself in the process of carrying out various work processes, which in turn allowed these processes to be improved and developed. Work also stimulated the intellectual capacity of man: the repetition of work processes fixed them gradually into human awareness, making it possible for them to be deliberately reproduced. Man first mentally performs an operation he will then perform in practice and visualises in advance the result of the process. The ability to formulate thought—language—developed simultaneously and was essential both for the development of men's intellectual abilities and for their joint labour.

In *primitive society*, labour had from the very beginning a collective character. People lived in tribes and worked together to build their dwellings, fashion clothing and tools, and to hunt. With the passage of time men, in addi-

tion to gathering and hunting, also began to engage in tilling the land and breeding animals. However, for many centuries their implements remained at a primitive level.

It was only by uniting together in large collectives—communities—that men could withstand natural calamity and predators, and could ensure their own security and sustenance. The produce obtained was divided equally, but was barely adequate for survival. Private property did not exist—indeed there was little to own, for there was no surplus of produce. They hunted and worked, old and young, to the utmost of their strength, and therefore there was no room for the exploitation of man by man. The possibility of exploitation arose when work in the community had become more productive as the result of the improvement of their implements and the accumulation of work experience, knowledge and skill. The transition to metal implements represented an enormous leap in the development of the means of production. A surplus of produce is generated, which accumulates in the hands of individuals. Private property appears and the community starts to differentiate out into rich and poor, and to break up.

With the rise of private property are formed the first opposing classes—slaves and slave-owners. Mankind enters the *slave-owning socio-economic formation*.

Within this formation handicrafts, trade and shipping develop apace. The first cities are built and various states with different forms of government are established to preserve and defend the rights of the slave-owners and suppress slave revolts. The army comes into being.

The slave was owned completely by his lord, who had full rights over his life and labour, giving the slave just sufficient out of the produce to enable him to live and work. The slave-owning system reached its highest development in ancient Rome, but the passage of time revealed its limitations. The slave had no interest in the results of his labour and often rose up against his enslaver. Slave revolts flared up in first one and then another part of the huge Roman Empire, which accelerated the collapse of the economically exhausted slave-owning system.

The slave-owning socio-economic formation was replaced by the *feudal formation*. Here the ruling class was the feudal lords, the owners of huge landed estates, castles and

peasant serfs. The religious hierarchy, who owned large tracts of fertile land, were also feudal lords. Supreme power was wielded by sovereign rulers, the kings.

The peasants belonged completely to their masters. However, they had more independence than slaves, possessing certain property (dwelling, draft animals, implements). The greater part of the time they worked for the feudal lord, and the lesser part of the time for themselves. Such an order, in comparison with the slave-owning mode of production, created better opportunities for the development of the productive forces. The peasants had a greater interest in increasing labour productivity and in improving work implements. However, the lion's share of the revenue went to the landowner, the church and the king.

Under feudalism the development of the productive forces continued: new tools were invented, craftsmanship was perfected and trade grew. The latter was given a powerful stimulus following the great geographical discoveries of the 15th-16th centuries (the discovery of America, and the sea route to India). An international market began to form and the demand for handicraft products increased. Large-scale manufacture made its appearance, with craftsmen joining together in large collectives and engaged in ever-more specialised work. The craftsman gradually became a worker and the owners of the workshops became the bourgeois.

The growth of industry increased the demand for manpower. Feudal relations became a brake on the further development of the productive forces and they were destroyed by bourgeois revolutions. This created the conditions for the establishment of the *capitalist socio-economic formation*, in which the private ownership by the capitalists of factories, plants, railways, banks, etc., predominates.

This period saw the entry into the historical arena of two main opposing classes—the bourgeois and the proletarian. The working class grows, gathers strength, rallies and organises itself for its struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the revolutionary overthrow of a world of exploitation and injustice and the building of a new, communist society.

Thus we see that *the replacement of one socio-economic formation by another on the basis of the development of material production and the class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters is the law governing the whole of*

Slave → Feudal → capitalist → socialist → commun.

history up to this point. The transition from one social formation to another is usually accomplished by revolution. Just as the slave-owning society inevitably gave way to the feudal society, and feudal society gave way to capitalist society, so capitalism as a socio-economic formation, is compelled to give way to communism.

The materialist concept of history developed by Marx and Engels, which produced a revolution in the view of society and is its only scientific explanation, serves as the reliable guide of the working class in its struggle for liberation, helps it to concentrate all its forces in order to accelerate the march of history and hasten on the inevitable establishment of a society of free and equal workers who collectively own and control the means of production.

The communist formation foreseen by Marx and Engels will differ from all other formations in that men will then, for the first time, become the conscious rather than the blind creators of their own history. The conflict of various antagonistic forces, interests and aspirations will be replaced by the unity of basic aims, by human understanding of the laws of social development and, on the basis of these laws, the planned and conscious management of society.

Naturally, this will not put an end to contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations, but, as there will be no classes with a vested interest in the preservation of the old order, such contradictions will be resolved by the conscious activity of a society, which will not allow situations of sharp conflict. Economic relations, the managerial-organisational activity of society will be able to improve together with the development of the productive forces.

For Marx and Engels, all previous socio-economic formations represented the pre-history of human society. Its true history begins with the *first phase of the communist formation—with socialism.*

In his writings, Lenin provided a profound evaluation of the revolution brought about by Marx and Engels in views of society. In particular he emphasised that the classics of Marxism based themselves on preceding philosophical materialism, which they reworked and developed, enriching it with the discoveries made by German classical philosophy, and especially dialectics, that is, the theory of develop-

ment, in its fullest, most profound and comprehensive form.

In developing philosophical materialism Marx, as Lenin noted, took it to its ultimate conclusion and extended it to the concept of human society. The creation of historical materialism was a major achievement in scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously dominated in views of history was replaced by a consistent and integrated scientific theory revealing how one form of social life develops into another, more advanced form thanks to the growth of the productive forces.

"Marx's philosophy", wrote Lenin, "is a consummate philosophical materialism which has provided mankind, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 25.

IV. *Capital* —the Most Fearful Missile Hurlled at the Head of the Bourgeoisie

Life in England.

The Study by Marx of Economic Problems and His Work on *Capital*

Following the suppression of the revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in France and Germany, Marx and Engels were obliged to emigrate to England. Here, where capitalism had acquired its most developed and mature form, Marx elaborated his scientific politico-economic theory and wrote his classic work—*Capital*.

For the émigré revolutionaries from the continent, England was a political refuge, but it imprisoned them in poverty. Engels was obliged to take work as a clerk at a modest salary in the firm of his father and his partner in Manchester in order to help support Marx and his family. This "commercial servitude" lasted 12 years. Marx, who had put all his money in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* found himself penniless in London. Constant deprivation, bad living conditions, the lack of money to pay for medical treatment and medicines, led to the death of four of his children in early childhood. Only three daughters survived—Jenny, Laura and Eleanor. Their poverty was so extreme that when one child died in 1852 the family did not even have the means to pay for the burial.

Marx was compelled to set aside his scientific studies and earn a living. For many years he worked from morning till night on articles for the American newspaper *New York Daily Tribune* (two articles every week!). However, even this modest income was irregular. Marx was therefore fully justified in complaining that his newspaper work paid him worse than any junior reporter.

It was at this time that Marx decided to engage upon a comprehensive study of the laws governing the formation

and development of capitalist society. However, he could only devote snatches of time to this work, and the possibility of devoting himself to it entirely even for a few months, appeared an impossible dream.

Years passed, but poverty continued to haunt Marx and his family. In 1861 Marx lost his job with the newspaper, his main source of income. Sometimes he did not leave his room for weeks as his clothing had been pawned. Putting aside his economic calculations for *Capital* he calculated an unending list of debts to the baker, the butcher and the landlord. A gentle and loving father, Marx was particularly concerned about the tragic effects of poverty upon his daughters; there were times when they had no clothing in which to go to school.

However, it would be wrong to paint a wholly black picture of Marx's life in London. Marx was not only able to bear the misfortunes of life with stoic fortitude but was also able to rejoice whenever the slightest occasion presented itself. In particular the family was cheered by any news of revolutionary events, of workers' victories and upheavals in the capitalist system. At moments such as these Marx worked with redoubled energy—during the day to earn a living and at night to complete his work on political economy.

With his knowledge and talent, Marx could have easily provided his family with that comfortable life enjoyed by those scholars who served the bourgeoisie. However, Marx believed that to turn science into a means of earning money was as disreputable as the deliberate distortion of scientific truths.

Despite all these difficulties, Marx managed to do a great deal of fruitful work. He spent whole days in the British Museum Library. His interests were extraordinarily wide-ranging—a generalisation of the revolutionary battles of the past, a study of the achievements of the natural sciences, the development of Eastern civilisations, the economy and history of the Slavs, aesthetics, literature. However, his main interest remained a comprehensive analysis of the economic basis of bourgeois society, its mechanism, the laws governing its development and the contradictions taking it inevitably to its death. He saw London, the capital of the most developed country of the capitalist world, as

“a convenient vantage point for the observation of bourgeois society”,¹ and strove to avail himself of the opportunity, studying the wealth of information on economics, finance, banking, colonial operations, etc., that poured into the city. Here he was also able to acquaint himself with the latest technical developments and the technology involved in the industrial production process.

Marx subjected the works of any political economist of any note to a thorough critical analysis, and in particular the works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, representatives of English bourgeois political economy. Here he found much of value, but also revealed the limitations of their views, which were still based on the concept of the eternity and immutability of capitalist social relations.

In 1857 Marx returned to the economic research that he had started immediately upon arriving in London, and in six months completed a large manuscript of one thousand pages. The first version already contained the basic ideas of *Capital*, but he decided to publish only a small portion of the manuscript, which came out in 1859 under the title “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy”.

In preparing the continuation of this work for print, Marx felt the need to revise much of what he had written. Between 1861 and 1863 he wrote a manuscript four times larger than the original, yet did not publish one line. This indefatigable labourer discovered gaps in his knowledge and immersed himself once more in research in the British Museum. Between 1863 and 1865 yet another preparatory and unpublished version of *Capital* was written.

At last, on 16 August, 1867, at two o'clock at night, Marx finished “licking into shape” the first volume of *Capital*, and putting aside the last page of the proof, immediately wrote to Engels:

“Dear Fred,

“... So this volume is finished. It was thanks to you alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!”²

¹ K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, p. 22.

² “Marx to Engels in Manchester (London), August 16, 1867, 2 o'clock at night” in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 180.

Nor was this an exaggeration. Without the constant material and moral support of Engels, the vast work of Marx would never have been completed. For many years they lived in different cities—London and Manchester—but this did not prevent their close association. They corresponded constantly. Marx was full of admiration for the genius of Engels, his wide-ranging knowledge and the clarity and boldness of his thought. He discussed with Engels all the difficult questions that arose during his work on *Capital*, asked his assistance in clarifying those problems in which he did not feel sufficiently competent, and received detailed explanations.

Marx also had another indefatigable assistant in his wife Jenny. Despite all the problems they faced, particularly during their stay in London, they were a happy and harmonious couple. The burden of family concerns did not prevent Jenny from sharing in the scientific and political work of her husband. For many years she was his irreplaceable secretary, copying out his writings and even acting as his "courier" in party matters.

Jenny also made her own contribution to *Capital*. She could truly say: "...Never has a book been written in such difficult conditions, and I could write a confidential history of its composition that would reveal innumerable secret cares, anxieties and sufferings."¹

The creation of *Capital* represented a truly scientific and human exploit on the part of Marx. In his own words, "It is certainly the most fearful missile that has so far been hurled at the head of the bourgeoisie (the landowners included)."

The Secret of Capitalist Exploitation and the Way of Removing It

The significance of *Capital* as the ideological weapon of the working class in its struggle for liberation resides mainly in the fact that in this work Marx revealed by means of scientific analysis the hidden mechanism of surplus value

¹ "Jenny Marx an Ludwig Kugelmann in Hannover, London, 24 Dezember 1867" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1965, S. 596.

and capitalist exploitation, tearing aside the veil that concealed the source of capitalist wealth. The relationship between worker and manufacturer appeared to be eminently rational. The worker sold his labour, the manufacturer paid him. It was on his—the manufacturer's—skill, labour and means of production that the success of the enterprise and its merited reward, increased profit, apparently depended. Everything seemed to be done "for the common good and in the common interest". The capitalist and the worker appeared as equal owners and exchanged labour for pay.

Marx showed that this appearance hid a very different reality. In bourgeois society material and spiritual goods compose wealth as *commodities* which, apart from their ability to satisfy certain needs (*use-value*) have *exchange-value*, that is, the social labour expended in their production.

The means of production—the tools, machines, mechanisms, etc.—cannot themselves produce an increase in value. They constitute materialised labour, that is, value, and the worker merely transfers this value onto the product in the course of his productive activity. Thus, working at the lathe, the worker produces new items. The value of these items includes the value of the raw materials used, and the value of the tools used, i.e. the lathe (distributed over the period of its use). By his work, the lathe operator simply transfers this value onto the finished product. Therefore, if it is not the means of production that generate a new value, the owner of these means—the capitalist, the entrepreneur—has no right to appropriate it.

Together with this, Marx showed that the worker was not, in fact, selling his labour, but his *labour-power*, that is his *capacity for work*. In bourgeois society, this capacity for work is a commodity that has an exchange-value, which is expressed in his wages, and also a use-value, which is the ability to create a greater value than its own, that is, to create surplus value. In other words, the proletarian works only part of his working day (half or less) to cover the cost of his basic needs—food, clothing, housing, etc. For this part of the day, for this necessary labour, he is paid his wages. The remaining part of the working day he works for the capitalist gratis. This surplus labour creates surplus value.

Marx depicts the full irony of the situation. This is the equitable agreement between the worker and the manufacturer. "He, who before was the money-owner, now strides in front as the capitalist; the possessor of labour-power follows as his labourer. The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other, timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but—a hiding."¹

It follows that the consuming interest of the capitalist is to change the relation between necessary labour and surplus labour to his own advantage. How can this be done? There are two ways: either by extending the working day and raising the intensity of labour, or by technological improvement. In the first stages of capitalist production the first method predominates: the working day was extended to 12, or even 16 hours. However, there are limits to the possible extension of the working day. Moreover, a long working day causes a fall in labour productivity, and the workers themselves fight to have the working day reduced. The transition to the second method follows inevitably: the technology is perfected, labour organisation improved and other methods of more intensive exploitation of the workers are devised. The labour of the worker becomes more productive, and in 8 hours he creates more surplus value than he created previously in 12 hours.

Machines, as Marx showed, in no way ease the labour of the worker under the capitalist system. On the contrary, they are used to intensify the oppression of the working class. The worker is not only economically dependent on the manufacturer, but in the very process of production is compelled to subordinate himself to the rhythm, speed and nature of the operation as dictated by the machine. Marx labelled this technological bondage. The introduction of machines and their improvement forces some of the workers into unemployment, into the constantly growing reserve army of labour.

In Volume I of *Capital*, Marx exposes one more current bourgeois myth serving to conceal the source of capital. According to this myth, the capitalist is the benefactor of

the working class and the whole of society, for, by his labour, thrift and prudence (or that of his forebears), he accumulated the original capital, and now—so runs the myth—he "feeds" the workers, giving them the possibility to work, to earn a living.

Marx revealed the true nature of the primitive accumulation of capital on the basis of the history of England. He showed that it had been a crude and violent process of deliberately bankrupting the small and medium peasants and driving the farmers from their land. The accumulation of wealth had also been achieved by the pillage of colonies.

"... Capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."¹ Therefore the class of capitalists can produce no moral justification in this respect. On the contrary, the further development of capitalism leads inevitably to the expropriation of the capitalist himself.

At the end of Volume I of *Capital*, Marx sums up his analysis of the laws governing the development of capitalist production and shows the inevitability of the collapse of the bourgeois exploiter system.

As capitalism develops, capital is increasingly concentrated, that is, increasing wealth accumulates in the hands of a small number of millionaires. At the other end of the scale there is a growing army of disinherited and exploited, and members of other social strata are increasingly drawn into the pool of hired labourers. Thus "... grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."²

The development of large-scale production prepares the material base for the new society, for it is a process of the socialisation of production via the concentration and corporation of production, the drawing of all the peoples of the world into a world market system, a process of the internationalisation of economic relations and the development of science and communications.

Production acquires an increasingly social character, but the method of appropriation remains the same—private-

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 172.

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 712.

² *Ibid.*, p. 715.

capitalist. This is the main contradiction of capitalist society, and one that is continually aggravated. Therefore, Marx concludes, "Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."¹ The subsequent development of capitalism fully confirmed this brilliant scientific prognosis advanced by Marx.

Capital contains not only a description of the economic laws governing the development of society, but also a further substantiation of the materialist concept of history.

Marx, as we have seen, consistently applied the concept of materialism to the historical development of society. Since the writing of *Capital*, the materialist concept of history had, in the words of Lenin, become a proven scientific theory.

Why did *Capital* play such an important role in confirming the materialist concept of history, that is, historical materialism?

In *Capital*, Marx, on the basis of a detailed study of immense factual data, provided an exhaustive analysis of the laws governing the functioning and development of one of the socio-economic formations—capitalism. He showed the development of the commodity organisation of the economy and how it becomes capitalist, creating the antagonistic classes of bourgeois and proletarians, how the capitalist economy raises the productivity of social labour and thus introduces that element which is in irreconcilable contradiction with the basis of the capitalist organisation itself. Marx was able to perceive the development of society as a natural-historical process, giving a comprehensive analysis of the laws of its development with the accuracy of a natural scientist. "Just as Darwin put an end to the view of animal and plant species being unconnected, fortuitous, 'created by God' and immutable, and was the first to put biology on an absolutely scientific basis by establishing the mutability and the succession of species," Lenin wrote, "so Marx put an end to the view of society being a mechanical aggregation of individuals which allows of all sorts of

modification at the will of the authorities (or, if you like, at the will of society and the government) and which emerges and changes casually, and was the first to put sociology on a scientific basis by establishing the concept of the economic formation of society as the sum-total of given production relations, by establishing the fact that the development of such formations is a process of natural history."¹

Thus in the process of a scrupulous economic analysis of capitalist production, the materialist concept of history developed by Marx finds its completion.

Marx's investigation into the bourgeois mode of production is carried out in *Capital* on the basis of dialectical materialism, the core of Marxist philosophy. Marx himself never describes this method. It is shown in action, in its practical application, in the analysis of the economic system of bourgeois society. In reading *Capital* we are able to see how Marx applies this method. The careful reader is simultaneously learning the art of applying the dialectical materialist method in studying society and in analysing one or other social phenomenon.

Unlike Hegel, Marx does not refer to reality as "dialectic diagrams", but examines the economic processes themselves, their formation, operation, and various trends, bringing out the inner logic of the movement of the economic organism, which occurs through the development of contradictions and their conversion into their opposites, that is, bringing out the dialectic of the object of research.

In the theoretical reconstruction of the object of investigation, Marx provides a materialist reformulation of the dialectical method, which therefore in its essence "is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite!"²

The bourgeois intellectual world greeted the publication of Volume I of *Capital* with grave-like silence. "A conspiracy of silence" seemed to them the best method of attack against this genial work. However, it proved impossible to remain silent for long, and all the more so as the size of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1960, p. 142.

² K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 29.

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 715.

its editions was growing and it was appearing in translation in a number of countries.

After the publication of Volume I, Marx continued work on the succeeding volumes, which had already been written in manuscript form. However, he never completed this work. Much of his time was devoted to leading the First International, and his health deteriorated sharply. The second and third volumes of *Capital* were prepared for print and published by Engels after the death of Marx. Putting aside his own manuscript, *Dialectics of Nature*, which was never to be completed, Engels worked on his friend's manuscripts, completing this enormous task only a few months before his own death—a feat achieved in the name of friendship, science, in the interests of the international workers' movement. *Capital* is the fruit of the labour of two brilliant minds.

Russian revolutionaries became familiar with *Capital*, thus helping the spread of Marxist ideas in Russia and the formation of the first Marxist circles. The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin, gave much attention to studying this work. In his main economic works, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin was giving direct continuation to *Capital*.

Lenin waged a resolute struggle against the falsification of the ideas contained in *Capital* by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois scholars, who, after first ignoring the book, had soon moved to malicious attacks upon it. The brunt of these attacks fell upon Marx's conclusions concerning the relentless aggravation of the contradictions of capitalist society, the inevitability of its collapse, the increase in the exploitation of the proletariat and its growing revolutionary role in contemporary society.

To oppose Marxism, there appeared, and still appear, concepts of a peaceful "transformation" of capitalism into socialism, the elimination of class contradictions between labour and capital and the "bourgeoisification" of the working class, etc. Marx's *Capital* is declared to be indeed a significant piece of scientific research, but valid only in its day and hopelessly out of date in the twentieth century.

History, however, has proved these critics wrong, for it was their theories and doctrines that proved outdated and

were invalidated. In the twentieth century the revolutionary movement has grown, gathered strength and developed in strict accord with Marxist theory. The economic law of modern society discovered by Marx revealed the movement of the whole of human civilisation towards a new epoch—the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The great ideas of Marx were turned into a reality by the establishment of the socialist system. This is the best memorial and tribute to the author of *Capital*.

Mankind had never known a book of such spiritual force that had such a powerful influence upon its future destiny.

V. The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science

The Precursors of Scientific Socialism

We have now examined the fundamental transformation in philosophy and political economy brought about by Marx and Engels. Let us now turn to socialism.

Scientific socialism (or, which means the same, scientific communism) has its direct theoretical origin in the theories of three great utopian socialists of the nineteenth century: Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. The founders of Marxism always paid due tribute to the utopian socialists, but also revealed the historical and class limitations of their theories.

The first utopian philosophies emerged as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. "Utopia" was the name given by Thomas More to the promised land described in his book published in England in 1516. Literally, the word "utopia" means a place that does not exist, a fantasy, an invention, a dream. In his book, Thomas More gave expression to popular dreams of a just social order free from private property and exploitation.

Not long thereafter, in Italy, the Dominican monk Tommaso Campanella, thrown into prison by the inquisition, created his version of the ideal society in his book *City of the Sun*, in which the main idea is also the beneficent nature of social property.

The next representatives of utopian socialism, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, elaborated their theories when the proletariat had already emerged onto the historical scene and when bourgeois society was already beginning to reveal its contradictions and antagonisms. In their philosophy utopian socialism reaches its highest development. Let us briefly examine their work.

Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825) lived during an exceptionally eventful period in French history. He witnessed the Great French Revolution, the empire of Napoleon and the subsequent restoration of the Bourbons. The bourgeois revolution had occurred in France, but society had failed to attain the promised brotherhood, equality and happiness. The beginning of the nineteenth century brought the workers new forms of exploitation, social oppression and misery. The growing disillusionment in bourgeois reality, the still vague dreams of the working people about a different, a just future, led Saint-Simon to his utopian philosophy. A descendant of Charlemagne and one of the richest men in the period of the Directory, Saint-Simon was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, an impoverished clerk in a pawnshop and for a time even lived under the protection of a former servant. A life full of reverses had not broken the spirit of this great man, who dedicated all his strength to the search for a new theory which would serve as the guide for a social transformation of society to the benefit of mankind.

Not one of the essays written by Saint-Simon constitutes a whole, and even all taken together they do not constitute anything resembling a consistent theory. For the most part his writings are rough drafts of various socio-political projects, notes, letters, extracts and individual pamphlets, sometimes even contradicting each other. However, all his writings are imbued with the idea of restructuring society, of building a social order such that it would ensure an improvement in the fate of that class which has no other means of existence except its own hands.

Saint-Simon believed that there was a regular succession of stages in the development of society, each of which initially played a progressive role, but which then became obsolete. Within it developed the new stage, which finally replaced the previous, now outdated and reactionary stage.

Criticising his contemporary world, Saint-Simon sought a way out in the creation of a new, more just social order. He believed that in the new society associations of manufacturers would regulate economic life according to a unified plan and thus eliminate industrial anarchy. Each capitalist would engage in perfecting production and extending his enterprises, which would, Saint-Simon believed, in-

crease the volume of work and abolish unemployment, ensuring the well-being of the workers. Thus, according to Saint-Simon, the interests of the entrepreneurs and the workers coincide and this will stimulate the development of the economy and of science and improve the level of moral practice.

Such concepts as the coincidence of the interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, their unification into one class, and hopes that the exploiters will show concern for the exploited are, of course, illusions explained by the conditions in which Saint-Simon lived and worked. The antagonism between labour and capital had not yet manifested itself. The bourgeoisie was still, on the whole, playing a progressive role in the struggle against the vestiges of feudalism and in the organisation of production, and the proletariat had not yet displayed any political activity and independence—this it would do later.

The philosophy of Charles Fourier (1772-1837) is marked mainly by a sharp and profound criticism of the bourgeois system and a penetrating portrayal of its flaws. Fourier mercilessly exposed the entire material and moral poverty of the bourgeois world, revealing what, in fact, had resulted from the bourgeois ideologists' theories of the capitalist society as "the rule of reason". He mocked the petty trading spirit which reigned in bourgeois France and dominated all aspects of life, even relations between the sexes. He was the author of the concept that in any society the degree of female emancipation is the natural measure of all freedom.

The greatness of Fourier was most clearly revealed in his sense of history and the dialectic of his thought. Like Saint-Simon, he believed that society developed within history and passed through specific periods (savagery, barbarism, patriarchy, civilisation). Each stage had a rise and a fall, its apogee and its nadir. The higher stage contains certain elements of the preceding stages. Social phenomena are pregnant with contradictions and, for example, in the civilised stage (i.e., in bourgeois society) "poverty is born of abundance". Engels noted the dialectic of Fourier's thinking.

Fourier therefore came to the conclusion that bourgeois society is also transient, as were the preceding stages, and will be compelled to give way to a future harmonious so-

ciety. He conceived of this future society as composed of cells, associations or phalanxes. A phalanx is a production-consumer association comprising 1,600-2,000 members. In this association, labour is engaged in according to the natural bent of the individual and the individual interests of each member of the phalanx fuse with the interests of society. Fourier also tries to draw the capitalist into the phalanx, together with his capital. Within the phalanx, each member finds his happiness according to his feelings and inclinations. Class enmity, Fourier proposes, dies away in an atmosphere of universal harmony. The entire social income of the phalanx is divided into three parts: capital—4/12, talent—from 2/12 to 3/12, labour—from 5/12 to 6/12. Great attention is also paid to the upbringing of children.

Thus the ideal society of Fourier is a long way from genuine socialism, for it retains private property and inequality.

Fourier had a large number of followers and some of them attempted to set up phalanx communities on the basis of Fourier's ideas. However, these attempts proved unsuccessful.

Robert Owen (1771-1858) was one of those utopian socialists who were concerned mainly with the practical implementation of the theory. He saw the purpose of his life and activity not in the elaboration of the ideals of the future but rather in practical activity directed at improving the position of the workers and their conditions of work and life. Owen himself was a manufacturer, the owner of a factory in New Lanark (Scotland). He decided to attempt an unprecedented experiment—introducing more humane conditions for the workers, reducing the working day, setting up nurseries for the children and raising wages. At first the experiment was successful and labour productivity rose at the factory. Drunkenness, poverty and crime disappeared from the community.

Imbued with socialist ideas on the corrupting influence of private property and its enslaving power, and believing that the workers should own the fruits of their own labour, Owen drew up a plan for a communist colony, elaborated it in detail and attempted to organise such colonies in America, sinking all he possessed into them. However, the projects failed and Owen died in poverty. It was, indeed,

naive to believe that a bourgeois society would permit socialist cells to live within its own body.

Nonetheless, Owen's socialism played a positive role in the enlightenment and organisation of the English working class, stimulating the development of the trade-union and co-operative movement.

The Russian revolutionary democrats Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov occupy a special place in the development of the ideas of utopian socialism. They proceeded from the conviction that unless tsardom was overthrown and serfdom abolished it was pointless to think of socialism, and they sought to enlighten the people so as to prepare them for revolution.

The first to attempt to give a detailed theoretical answer to the question of the future prospects of socialism in Russia was Herzen. He based himself on the belief that Russia could achieve the transition from a feudal-monarchical to a socialist system directly, avoiding capitalism, placing his hopes on the peasant commune, which he saw as a ready-made socialist cell. Communal ownership of land and a communal way of life had, in Herzen's opinion, all but prepared the Russian peasant to be a member of a socialist society. This, of course, was an illusion, but a perfectly comprehensible one in the conditions existing in Russia in the 1860s. The revolutionary mood of the peasants had intensified both before and during the unjust land reform carried through by the tsarist government. Herzen's views also contained certain liberal tendencies.

In contrast to Herzen Chernyshevsky was a more consistent and decisive revolutionary. Describing his views, Lenin wrote: "...Chernyshevsky, who, after Herzen, developed the Narodnik views, made a great stride forward as compared with Herzen. Chernyshevsky was a far more consistent and militant democrat, his writings breathing the spirit of the class struggle... He was a remarkably profound critic of capitalism despite his utopian socialism."¹

Chernyshevsky also placed his hopes on the peasant commune, which in his view, would ease the path to socialism. In addition, he developed a number of accurate propositions

concerning the structure of the future socialist society and showed the economic inevitability of a transition to socialism.

The revolutionary democrats greatly influenced the revolutionary Narodniks, and the young Lenin read their works. However they, like all the utopian socialists, failed to perceive the world-historic role of the proletariat as a force that would revolutionise the world.

Depicting the contradictions in the initial period of the capitalist system, the utopian socialists expressed the mood and aspirations of the oppressed masses. In the main, pre-Marxian socialists called for the exploitation of man by man to be replaced by co-operation, social antagonism and class struggle by communal life and collective creativity, and private property by collective property. The representatives of nineteenth-century utopian socialism (from Saint-Simon to Herzen and Chernyshevsky) subjected capitalism to devastating criticism as a system that did not correspond to human needs, as a system that had only one purpose—profit for the capitalist—which doomed the overwhelming majority of mankind to oppression and misery.

In their writings the utopian socialists depicted communism, the society of the future, with enormous enthusiasm and artistic power. They showed the members of communist society as possessed of great creative ability, and with a wide range of talents and gifts. The utopian socialists were themselves men of great education and humanism.

The main weakness of utopian socialism lay in the fact that not only was it unable to provide genuine slogans for the struggle and stimulate the workers to revolutionary creativity and revolutionary change, but was also incapable of grasping the essence of the slavery of hired labour, revealing the laws of development of both feudalism and capitalism and indicating the forces within the exploiter society itself that were capable of overthrowing the capitalist system.

The utopian socialists, on the whole, did not believe in the revolutionary nature of the working masses whose liberation they sought. They wished to change society by peaceful means, by reforms, which, according to the majority of utopian socialists, were to be carried through by the ruling classes themselves.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "From the History of the Workers' Press in Russia", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 246.

Marx and Engels noted that "the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them (utopian socialists—*Tr.*) the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement".¹ As the utopian socialists cannot find as yet any material conditions for the liberation of the proletariat, they see their main task as propagating their plans for the transformation of society.

While commenting on these and other weaknesses, the classics of Marxism-Leninism always emphasised the historical significance of the utopian socialists and pointed out that Marxism is the lawful inheritor of their ideas. "...German theoretical socialism," wrote Engels, "...rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen—three men ... whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us..."²

A study of the legacy of the utopian socialists is therefore an essential condition of any profound understanding of the formulation of the ideas of scientific socialism.

Scientific Socialism

Utopian socialism criticised capitalist society, condemned it, cursed it, dreamt of its abolition and the establishment of a better system and attempted to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

However, to repeat, utopian socialism could find no solution, was unable to explain the essence of the slavery of hired labour under capitalism or discover the laws of its development, could not identify that social force which was capable of being the creator of a new society. This was achieved by scientific socialism as founded by Marx and Engels and further developed in new historical conditions by Lenin.

In his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels described scientific socialism as "the theoretical expression

of the proletarian movement", and saw its task as being to investigate the historical conditions and nature of the proletarian revolution and explain to the proletariat "a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish".¹ In other words, it is the science of class struggle and socialist revolution, of the socio-political laws of the building of socialism and communism and of the world revolutionary process as a whole. Scientific socialism is based on the philosophical and politico-economic aspects of Marxism, to which it is organically linked.

Scientific socialism differs from the preceding socialism as any exact science differs from vague dreams, fantasies and aspirations. The utopians proceeded from the false belief that one must first think up an ideal society and then convince others of its advantages. Marx and Engels studied the actual reality of the bourgeois world and saw in the working class that force which was called upon to destroy that world and raise on its ruins a new socialist society.

Fundamental to the theory of scientific socialism is the doctrine of class struggle as the driving force behind the development of societies with antagonistic classes. Classes and class struggle were known to scholars before Marx. French historians wrote of it at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All that was positive in the theories of previous thinkers about classes and class struggle was critically evaluated, enriched and developed by Marx within the context of a proletarian world view.

What did this development consist in? Marx himself answered this question as follows: "What I did that was new was to demonstrate: (1) that the *existence of classes* is merely linked to *particular historical phases in the development of production*, (2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*."²

These few terse lines contain the whole Marxist concept of class struggle.

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 346.

² "Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer in New York, London, March 5, 1852" in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 64.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 515.

² F. Engels, "Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*" in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 169.

From the first thesis it follows that classes have not always existed but are the product of historical development, arose at specific stages in the social division of labour—the transition from primitive society to slave-owning society. Every antagonistic socio-economic formation has its own particular class structure, its *main* class opponents: slaves and slave-owners, serfs and feudal lords, workers and bourgeois.

Marx examines the history of class struggle against the background of the economic development of society and in connection with the transition from one socio-economic formation to another. The struggle itself, being the expression of specific economic interests, finally becomes mass popular upheavals, revolutions, which sweep away the outdated social institutions and order and become the transition to a new, more progressive socio-economic formation.

Social revolutions play an extremely progressive role in history, accelerating its development and rallying the exploited masses around the revolutionary class, stimulating their creative energy and directing it towards the building of a new social structure.

In the course of the development of society, the role of the masses as the creators of history grows. The more radical the social transformations to be carried through, the more furious is the opposition of the ruling classes and the more dynamic is the conscious revolutionary surge of the masses, the greater their selflessness, heroism and unity.

The numbers of those striving for revolution and opposing the handful of exploiters increase significantly under capitalism, together with their consciousness, organisation and conviction of the necessity and inevitability of revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class.

The proletariat, headed by its revolutionary and conscious vanguard, *the party*, expresses the interests of all the exploited under capitalism. The party unites and consolidates the masses, guides their actions, elaborates the aims and objectives of the struggle at each particular stage of historical development, defines the attitude towards other opposition parties and political groups. Marx and Engels laid down the basis of the teaching on the party of the working class, on its role in the revolutionary struggle, and this serves as the basis of the world communist movement to this

day. Marx and Engels believed that the recognition of the necessity of establishing the power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, was the main demand of the policy programme of the proletarian party.

Certain bourgeois ideologists and reformists attempt to present the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an incidental term torn out of the context of Marx's writings and not of the essence. This is, of course, a deliberate distortion of the views of the founders of Marxism. As early as in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels wrote clearly and unambiguously that "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class", and that the proletariat uses its rule to make "despotic inroads" in bourgeois relations. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice.

The dictatorship of the proletariat lay at the heart of the impassioned articles written by Marx and Engels in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Their analysis of the revolutionary experience of 1848-1849, particularly in France, led them time and again to the same conclusion concerning the necessity of this dictatorship. His investigations into the economic laws of capitalist society also led Marx to the conclusion that the strong political power of the proletariat was essential to achieve the expropriation of the exploiters. This proposition was confirmed by the lessons of the Paris Commune. Finally, in 1875, in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx declared that in the transitional period from capitalism to communism "the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*".¹

How, indeed, could it be otherwise? How can the working class oppose the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie who do not hesitate before ruthless and bloody action; how can it win and consolidate its rule without organising its own strong and active power? The teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat follows from the very essence of the Marxist world outlook, from the scientific analysis of the specifics of the class struggle in capitalist society.

¹ K. Marx, "Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party" in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 26.

An integral part of this teaching is the thesis on the need to destroy the bourgeois state machine. "All revolutions perfected this machine instead of breaking it."¹ This thesis was first formulated by Marx in his work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* published in 1852.

Lenin placed great importance on this Marxist thesis. He wrote: "In this remarkable argument Marxism takes a tremendous step forward compared with the *Communist Manifesto*. In the latter the question of the state is still treated in an extremely abstract manner, in the most general terms and expressions. In the above-quoted passage the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable: all previous revolutions perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed."

"This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxist theory of the state."²

In formulating the main tenets of the theory of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels always recognised the need to take into account the concrete historical situation and the specifics of the revolutionary situation in any country. They allowed, for example, the possibility of a peaceful revolution in those countries where the military-bureaucratic system had not been developed and where the proletariat could use parliamentary struggle to achieve its aims. This was the situation in England at the time.

Marx and Engels used a dialectics approach to the question of the main ally of the proletariat, the peasantry, showing how to recognise its dual nature and to distinguish between its reactionary and revolutionary elements. In their opinion, recognition by the peasants of their basic interests should lead the overwhelming majority to unite with the working class, to unity of action against capital, which offers them nothing but ruin. "Hence the peasants," wrote Marx, "find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat*, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois or-

der."¹ With the help of the broad masses of the peasants, the proletarian revolution "will obtain that chorus without which its solo becomes a swan song in all peasant countries".²

Marx and Engels clearly foresaw those tendencies which have openly revealed themselves today in modern developed capitalist countries in relation to the intelligentsia. Capital also turns the representatives of the intelligentsia into hired workers and extracts surplus value and profit not only from physical but also from intellectual labour. Capital does not create science but exploits it, and thus science becomes one of the basic driving forces of production. Consequently a process of differentiation takes place within the intelligentsia, dividing it into those who control capitalist production and those who sink to the position of skilled labourers. The leading, progressive section of the intelligentsia can and must join the cause of serving the proletariat and enlightening the working masses, take an active part in revolution and social construction.

In analysing the development of tendencies manifest in actual bourgeois society, the founders of Marxism observed with the accuracy of natural scientists the direction in which these tendencies would develop in the future. Here we find in their works far-seeing propositions concerning the future communist society.

According to Marx and Engels, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a particular form of state organisation which is essential for the suppression of hostile classes and groups and the solution of the creative task of building the new society. These tasks are crucial and will determine its future development, for their solution brings with it the withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The victorious proletariat aims, in the course of social changes, not only to eliminate the exploiter classes, but also to remove class differences between the peasants and the workers, the main differences between the town and village, between physical and intellectual labour. During this long process of transformation, the proletariat, in removing itself as a par-

¹ K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 186.

² V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 441.

¹ K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 191.

² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

ticular class, frees the whole of society from class-social inequality. With the disappearance of classes, the state will also wither away.

The state, commented Lenin, describing the views of Marx and Engels, is "organised coercion".¹ It arose at a particular stage of social development, when society had split into classes and began to feel the need of a "power", standing seemingly above it and harmonising the various class interests. In fact, the state embodies the power of the ruling class. The ancient state was the apparatus used by the slave-owners to subordinate the slaves; the feudal state was the organ of the aristocracy and the church to subordinate the serfs. The bourgeois state, even in the form of a parliamentary republic, is the instrument used by the capitalists to exploit hired labour.

The main prerequisite of the withering away of the state is the disappearance of classes. In a classless society people gradually become accustomed to observing the rules of communal life and interference by the state in social relations becomes unnecessary. "...The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not 'abolished'. It dies out."²

The abolition of class division is a complex and lengthy process. It starts in the first phase of the communist socio-political formation (the stage known as socialism), where, as a result of enormous economic, political and cultural changes the exploiter classes are eliminated and a new socio-class structure is formed. Socialist society is the society of the workers (industrial workers, peasants, and intelligentsia), and is governed according to the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". In the first phase of the new society the distribution of material and intellectual-cultural goods cannot be carried out in accord with the needs of each individual because of the insufficient level of development of the productive forces.

The second phase of the new society is communism, in which the distinction between physical and intellectual labour disappears. Work itself ceases to be merely a means

of livelihood and becomes a vital need. All members of society will be fully developed individuals, that is, developed intellectually, morally, aesthetically and physically. The all-round free development of each individual will become the main aim, the aim in itself, of society.

Communist society is a society of free individuals united together in a self-governing collective or association. This society organises production and consumption on a scientific basis, controls the economy using its knowledge of the economic laws, and plans its purposeful development for the benefit of all.

Communist society is "the humanity's leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom".¹ What is meant by "the kingdom of freedom"? It means that, firstly, men will consciously and purposefully develop their production to the benefit of all the members of society and, secondly, it also means that man "for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature..."²

A highly developed production process will ensure an abundance of material goods. "...Only then can ... society inscribe on its banner: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"³

As "the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement" (Engels), scientific communism develops together with the revolutionary movement, generalises its experience and is a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class, and all the working masses, in their struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism.

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 344.

² *Ibid.*, p. 343.

³ K. Marx, "Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party" in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 19.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 73.

² F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 341.

VI. At the Head of the International Proletarian Movement

Founders and Leaders of the First International

Marx and Engels were proletarian revolutionaries for whom science was not an end in itself but the intellectual tool of the working class. As we have already seen, scientific study and revolutionary-political activity were indissolubly linked together in their life and activity and constantly enriched each other.

In 1864, when his work on the first volume of *Capital* was drawing to an end, Marx interrupted that work in order to devote all his energies and time to the organisation of the First International, the International Working Men's Association.

The International originated at a meeting of worker and democratic organisations from a number of countries which took place in London on September 28, 1864. It was this meeting that adopted the decision to elaborate a draft General Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Marx considered the policy and institutional documents of the International to be of major importance.

The task of formulating these documents was extremely complex, for the aims and methods of the proletarian movement had to be formulated in such a way as to be accepted by various groups and movements striving for united action. At the same time, it was essential that no concessions be made with regard to the principles of scientific communism and that influential petty-bourgeois elements in the worker movement be prevented from acquiring a foothold in the International.

The situation within the International was also complex. Together with organisations who held to the Marxist posi-

tion, there were also various factions, groups and currents who stood for a petty-bourgeois or immature proletarian ideology. These last were under the influence of such leaders as Proudhon, Mazzini, Bakunin and Lassalle. There was a lack of agreement regarding both the immediate and the long-term aims and objectives of the proletariat. It was necessary to introduce scientific clarity and consistency into the strategy and tactic of the International, subordinate the national interests of factions to international objectives, and neutralise the influence of reformist and anarchist leaders. At the same time, the International had to become a mass organisation, attracting ever more groups of progressive proletarians in England, France, Germany, Italy and Poland. All these difficulties were successfully overcome by Marx.

The organisation and activity of the International were based on the General Rules and Inaugural Address drafted by him. Leadership of the International lay in the hands of a General Council, of which Marx was a member, and of which he soon became the leader. Lenin justly remarked that Marx was the guiding spirit of the association. Without the indefatigable, day-to-day organisational and political activity of Marx, the International would never have acquired that power and influence which it possessed on the international scene.

The authority of the International grew with every year. Its membership came to include certain large English trade unions, and Marxist influence on proletarian activity in France and Germany intensified.

In 1869, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party emerged in Germany, the first proletarian party organised on a national scale and basing itself in the main on scientific communism. This was yet another victory for the teaching of Marx and Engels and a new page in the history of the international workers' movement. This was followed by the organisation of mass parties in other countries.

Marx was obliged to wage a fierce struggle within the International against Bakuninism. Mikhail Bakunin was a Russian revolutionary Narodnik and a man of outstanding personality. He took part in the revolution of 1848-1849, was arrested and twice condemned to death, first by a Saxonian and then by an Austrian military court. The death

penalty was commuted to a life sentence and he was handed back to Russia, where he spent many years in the cells of the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg. He succeeded in escaping during Siberian exile and arrived in London just as the International was being established.

The opinions and the activity of Bakunin within the International became increasingly hostile to Marxism. Bakunin himself became an advocate of the petty-bourgeois revolutionary beliefs of the extreme left, placing his hopes on revolt by a handful of individuals, on the immediate overthrow of the bourgeois world order by conspiratorial activity.

For Bakunin, the main evil against which the struggle must be directed was not capital and hired labour, but the state, and, moreover, any state. He did not recognise the proletarian state, nor the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In addition, he conducted factional activity within the International, setting up within it his International Alliance of Socialist Democracy and attempting to bring the healthy kernel of the association under its influence.

Marx decisively rebuffed Bakuninism, seeing the threat it presented to the working-class movement. He had to explain time and again the propositions of scientific socialism on the driving forces of the revolution, on the means of preparing the revolution, on the strategy and tactic of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, after it had won political power.

In his struggle against Bakuninism, Marx had the support of the Russian revolutionaries and he paid increasing attention to political and economic life of Russia after 1861 (when serfdom was abolished) and the activity of the Narodnik organisation Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom). He familiarised himself with the writings and activity of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and started a correspondence with their followers.

At the beginning of 1870, a Russian branch of the International was set up in Geneva. It was comprised of revolutionary democrats who based themselves on the ideas of Chernyshevsky and who had separated from Bakunin. The leadership of this branch requested Marx to become their representative in the International. "Russian democratic

youth," ran the letter, "has today, via its exiled brothers, received the opportunity of expressing its deep gratitude to you for the help that you have given our cause with your theoretical and practical propaganda."

Marx willingly agreed, and this agreement was of deep symbolic significance: young revolutionary Russia entered the International Working Men's Association led by Karl Marx. His official title was now Secretary of the General Council for Russia.

The Lessons of the Paris Commune

Marx and Engels had the good fortune to see many of their ideas put into practice in the workers' movement. The European proletariat grew in number and strength and constituted the most revolutionary, vanguard class of society, resolutely opposing the bourgeoisie. A powerful international proletarian organisation was formed, the International, which was putting into practice the rallying call of the *Manifesto*: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" They lived to witness the first proletarian revolution and observe the activity of the first proletarian state, the Paris Commune.

At the beginning of the 1870s, the Bonaparte regime that had been stifling France for almost 20 years, had sunk into total decay. All that was needed for the so-called Second Empire, that is, the government of Napoleon III, to finally collapse was a blow from outside. This blow was the Franco-German war. The French army was routed in the battle near Sedan and the emperor himself was captured.

On March 18, 1871, revolution broke out in Paris, and a few days later power passed to the Paris Commune. The first measures adopted by the Commune were directed at smashing the bourgeois state machine and establishing a new type of power. The standing army and the political police were abolished, a national guard was established and the church was separated from the state. A consistent system of democratic elections was introduced, together with a new administrative and judicial system. The principle of the responsibility and replacement of officials was adopted and their pay was that of a worker.

The Commune lasted only 72 days and was unable to spread its power to the whole of France. It found itself isolated in Paris and surrounded by the troops of the bourgeois government of Versailles and the advancing German army. It let slip the moment when it could have marched on Versailles and removed the threat of encirclement. The counter-revolutionary armies broke into Paris and the streets flowed with the blood of the heroic communards.

Nonetheless, however brief was the period of the Paris Commune, it was an event of world-historic significance. It showed that the question of the seizure of power by the proletariat had been put on the agenda by history itself and had become the urgent command of the time. The Commune was the first indication of the society of the future, a bold attempt by the proletariat to break the fetters of capital and "storm heaven".

The Paris Commune marked the end of the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. Then began, in the words of Lenin, the epoch of "the full domination and decline of the bourgeoisie, one of transition from its progressive character towards reactionary and even ultra-reactionary finance capital".¹

Marx and Engels greeted the news of the Paris Commune with tremendous enthusiasm, assiduously following its every step and attempting through their advice and recommendations to help its leaders avoid fatal errors. After the collapse of the Commune, they carefully analysed this unprecedented historical experience in order to derive as much benefit as possible from this lesson for the workers' movement.

Marx saw the historical significance of the Commune in the visible practical confirmation it provided of *the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat*. He saw in the Commune the embryonic state of the future and that political form "under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour".²

The Commune pursued its activity at a time when the class struggle had become particularly bitter and the opposition of the exploiter classes was at its most furious. Thus

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Under a False Flag", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 146.

² K. Marx, "The Civil War in France" in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 223.

Marx concluded that the accession to power of the working class would not put an end to the class struggle, but "affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and humane way".¹ The experience of the Commune clearly manifested the absurdity of the demand of the Bakuninists that the state be immediately abolished. The need for centralised power remains even after the victory of the proletariat, and is essential both for the political suppression of the bourgeoisie and for economic activity, for eliminating anarchy in production, for "their (the social forms of production—*Ed.*) harmonious national and international co-ordination"² and for cultural construction. Marx warned that these transformations could not be achieved at one blow and that no little effort and time would be needed to change both the conditions and people themselves.

In Marx's opinion, one of the main reasons for the defeat of the Commune was that its leaders were not sufficiently resolute in their actions, that it was not headed by a revolutionary proletarian party, the united and tested core of the working class that organises and guides its energy. *The success of a proletarian revolution is impossible without a militant and united vanguard—a proletarian party armed with a knowledge of the laws of social development; this is the main lesson to be learned from the Paris Commune.*

The need to establish political organisations of workers—proletarian parties—became one of the main issues for discussion at the London Conference of the International in September 1871, and at the Hague Congress a year later. This led to another bitter struggle against the Bakuninists, who attempted to split the organised workers' movement into factions and decentralise its leadership. Marx and Engels emerged victorious from this battle and Bakunin and his supporters, the anarchists, were excluded from the International.

In the meantime, however, the conditions in which the International had to operate had sharply deteriorated. Reaction was everywhere on the counter-offensive against the

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

working class. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, political repression began in a number of countries and a vicious slander campaign was conducted in the bourgeois press against the leaders of the International. Further legal activity by the international mass organisation of the proletariat became virtually impossible.

Towards the end of 1873, the International practically ceased to exist, and in 1876 it was officially dissolved. The immediate task of the working-class movement was now the formation of socialist parties in every country.

The Further Development of Marxist Theory

In 1869 Engels was at last able to end his commercial bondage, that is, he managed to free himself from a job he detested in his father's trading company and, moreover, under conditions that enabled him to continue rendering material assistance to Marx and his family. Engels was now able, as he put it, to work at his own discretion and he joined in the hectic activity of the International, working with Marx on an analysis of the events of the Paris Commune and writing for the German social-democratic press.

The workers' movement in Germany was then of particular interest to Marx and Engels. It was here, as was mentioned before, that the first proletarian party had been founded. Its leaders, Bebel and Liebknecht, adopted a Marxist position, but frequently committed serious errors. In 1875 they decided on the unification of the Social-Democratic Party and the so-called General Association of German Workers, set up by the petty-bourgeois revolutionary Lassalle. The unification took place on the basis of a programme which was known as the Gotha Programme, which contained serious concessions to Lassallean philosophy, with its reformist and nationalist phraseology. Marx was obliged to subject the Gotha Programme to serious criticism in defence of the ideological and theoretical purity of the proletarian world outlook and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The main target of his critical attack was the question of the state. If Bakunin had deviated to an anarchistic negation of any state system, Lassalle and his supporters, on the

contrary, proceeded from an illusory belief that the state was above class and that the bourgeois state could be given a popular character.

In his work *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx exposed the impracticable and dangerous fallacy of such views, revealed the hostility of the bourgeois state towards the proletariat and the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the founding of a new society. "Between capitalist and communist society," he wrote, "lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."¹

While emphasising that the establishment of a communist society was the result of long and profound revolutionary changes covering all aspects of life, Marx distinguished two phases in the development of the communist socioeconomic formation: the lower, or socialism, and the higher, the actual communist phase, and described the characteristic features of each. In so doing he made an invaluable contribution to the development of the theoretical foundations of the workers' movement.

Marx and Engels noted with alarm that certain circles within German Social-Democracy showed a conciliatory attitude to petty-bourgeois, reformist ideology and a desire, regardless of principle, to unite Marxism and philosophical and economic theories fashionable among the bourgeois intelligentsia.

One such fashionable theoretician was Dühring who, in an extremely pretentious fashion, "refuted" Marxism and in return offered the working class his own theory, which was a potpourri consisting of the most diverse bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts. The spread of Dühring's ideas among the Social-Democrats presented a serious threat, and Engels took on the task of exposing them. The result was the publication in 1878 of the fundamental work *Anti-Dühring*.

The polemic with Dühring was, of course, merely an opportunity to provide, in the words of Engels, "an encyclope-

¹ K. Marx, "Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party" in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 26.

dic review of our understanding of philosophical, scientific and historical problems".¹ The chapter on the history of the theory of political economy was written by Marx, who also read and approved the whole manuscript.

Basing himself upon *Capital*, Engels analysed new phenomena in capitalist society that were to become clearly evident in the twentieth century. In particular he showed that the concentration of property in the hands of the bourgeois state in no way alters the essence of the capitalist system. As if exposing the doctrines of modern ideologists who preach the peaceful growing over of capitalism into socialism by developing "state control over ownership", Engels clearly and decisively maintained that the transfer of ownership to the state within the framework of a bourgeois society can solve nothing. On the contrary, the more the modern state "proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution."²

The development of state ownership does not save capitalism, on the contrary, it accelerates the development of the material prerequisites for a socialist revolution. This prediction by Engels will be fully substantiated and developed in a new historical age in the Leninist teaching on state-monopoly capitalism, imperialism.

In his *Anti-Dühring*, Engels summarises his own and Marx's views on the development of society and presents them in a clear, journalistic style. This major work became the encyclopedia of Marxism, and millions of workers in every country have learned and are learning from it.

Meanwhile Marx continued his work on the second and third volumes of *Capital* and immersed himself for this purpose in a study of world history and the economics of

various countries, including Russia. He worked with total dedication, despite his worsening health. In 1881 his wife died, a heavy and irreparable blow. Marx himself did not long survive his wife, dying on March 14, 1883.

Speaking of the death of his friend and colleague, Engels said: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time."¹

Marx was acknowledged as the leader of the international workers' movement, and after his death this role was taken over by Engels, who became the adviser and leader of the European Socialists. He continued the struggle against reformism in defence of the purity of the revolutionary teaching, the correct strategy and tactic of the proletarian parties that had emerged in a number of countries, and developed the scientific world outlook in accordance with new conditions. He took an active part in the foundation of the Second International.

The Prognosis of Revolution in Russia

As early as the 1870s, Marx and Engels had turned their eyes increasingly towards Russia, where the struggle of the revolutionaries against tsarist autocracy was growing by the day. Russia was then the most powerful bulwark of reaction in Europe and, in their opinion, the future course of events in that enormous empire would largely determine the political climate in Europe.

Using original sources, Marx and Engels engaged in a detailed study of economic relations in Russia, particularly those following upon the abolition of serfdom, contacted Russian political émigrés and attentively followed the activity of the Russian underground organisation of Narodnaya Volya (People's Will). They were full of praise for the work of Chernyshevsky, whom they considered "the great Russian scholar and critic".² They were acquainted (personally or by correspondence) with such famous figures of the Russian revolutionary movement as Lavrov, Lopatin, Zasulich,

¹ "Engels an Laura Lafargue in Paris, London, 18 April 1884" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, p. 136.

² F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 338.

¹ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, March 15, 1883, 11.45 p.m." in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 340.

² K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 25.

and Tkachev. Plekhanov, the founder of the first Marxist organisation in Russia—the Emancipation of Labour group—often visited Engels during the last years of his life.

This detailed study of the situation in Russia led Marx and Engels to the firm conviction that in this country, which was as yet far from having eliminated feudal relations and which had accumulated a large number of social ills and unresolved problems, the revolutionary explosion could be particularly powerful and would undoubtedly echo through the rest of Europe. They found it possible, in this respect, to compare the imminent revolution in Russia with the Great French Revolution. According to Lopatin, Engels asserted that “Russia is the France of this century. It is the legitimate heir of the revolutionary initiative for a new social transformation.”¹ Marx and Engels were certain that the developing revolutionary movement in Russia must lead finally to “an event . . . which, maybe after long and violent struggles, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune”.² The approaching revolution in Russia, in their opinion, would be a turning point in world history.

Engels yet again demonstrated his exceptional gift of clear-sightedness and prophecy when he heard of the accession to the throne of Nicholas II. He then commented that the new tsar was “weak physically and intellectually and promises to be an irresolute ruler who will be merely a puppet in the hands of others with their conflicting intrigues, and this is exactly what is needed for the Russian despotic system to be finally destroyed”.³

Marx and Engels hoped that “mother nature” would be kind enough to spare them until the Russian revolution, but this was not to be. However, the revolution was not long in coming. The first rolls of thunder could be heard in 1905, only ten years after the death of Engels.

Marxism spread far and wide while Marx and Engels were still alive. Organisations and parties with a Marxist

platform were set up in a number of countries, and Marxism rapidly won the hearts and minds of millions of people, showing them the right road to follow in their struggle for a better future.

The historical fate of Marxism is without precedent. “Disputed” and “disproved” times out of number by scholars in the service of the bourgeoisie, it was daily confirmed by all the class battles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The truth and accuracy of this teaching, further enriched by Lenin, was strikingly revealed in the October Revolution and the successful building of a new society by the peoples of the socialist community of nations. Now it is the banner and the powerful weapon of the world communist movement.

Lenin declared that the teaching of Marx was all-powerful because it was true, because it exactly reflected the vital interests of working people, because Marx answered the questions that progressive human thought had already posed, because it rested on the sure foundation of human knowledge and the cultural achievements of human history.

Let us recall here the penetrating words of Lenin: “I am still ‘in love’ with Marx and Engels, and cannot calmly stand any abuse of them. No, these were real people! We must learn from them. We must not leave that basis.”⁴

Questions on Part One

- (1) What were the historical conditions in which the world outlook of Marx and Engels was formed?
- (2) Describe the beginning of the revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels and their critical re-evaluation of the intellectual legacy of the past.
- (3) Give a description of the Communist League organised by Marx and Engels and of its policy objectives.
- (4) What were the basic ideas contained in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*?

⁴ V. I. Lenin, “To Inessa Armand”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 281.

¹ “Aus einem Brief G. A. Lopatins an M. N. Oschanina” in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 21, S. 488.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, p. 271.

³ “Engels an Laura Lafargue in Le Perreux, London, 12, Nov. 94” in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1968, S. 313.

- (5) What is the world-historic mission of the proletariat?
- (6) What are the basic inadequacies of pre-Marxist philosophy?
- (7) What is the essence of the materialist concept of history?
- (8) Why is the mode of production the determining factor in the development of human society?
- (9) What is the source of the increasing wealth of the capitalists? Why is the expropriation of the exploiters the just demand of the working class?
- (10) Describe Lenin's appraisal of *Capital*.
- (11) What is the fundamental advantage of scientific socialism over utopian socialism?
- (12) What is the role of the party in the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation?
- (13) What was the role played by Marx and Engels in the founding of the International?
- (14) What revolutionary future did Marx and Engels predict for Russia?

Part two

LENIN—THE HEIR TO THE TEACHING AND CAUSE OF MARX AND ENGELS AND THE LEADER OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

VII. The Formation and Development of the Revolutionary Views of Lenin

The Centre of the World Revolutionary Process Moves to Russia

The teaching of Marx and Engels was continued and developed in the writings and revolutionary activity of Lenin. Russia became the birthplace of Leninism. Nor was this a historical accident. As the founders of Marxism had foreseen, the centre of the world revolutionary movement shifted at the end of the nineteenth century from Western Europe to Russia, where social contradictions had reached their most extreme form. The struggle against the capitalists was waged by the rapidly growing working class, the peasants opposed the landowners and the peoples at the periphery opposed the oppressive tsarist autocracy. The worker, peasant and national liberation movements complemented and reinforced each other, and the Russian bourgeois, landowning system was approaching collapse. As a result, Russia had become the weakest link in the chain of world capitalism. In no other country in the world was there such a complex variety of social conflicts, and nowhere else had the three above-mentioned currents united into one revolutionary process.

In the leading capitalist countries of Europe, bourgeois relations took root, in the main, as the result of a revolution that had virtually destroyed the feudal system. In Russia, however, serfdom was abolished in 1861 by the reform from above carried through by the tsarist government and the landed serf-owners,

The abolition of serfdom, which tsarism presented as evidence of its concern for the well-being of the people, was in fact dictated by the requirements of Russian economic development. Russia was increasingly falling behind the bourgeois countries of the West. This was clearly revealed by Russia's defeat in the Crimean War against Britain, France and Turkey (1855-1856). The peasant serf had little interest in the results of his labour and, therefore, in increasing productivity; bound by law to the landowner, he did not have the right to leave for the town of his own free will, to work in the factories. Industry suffered from a lack of workers and therefore it became essential to do away with serfdom.

The abolition of serfdom was also necessitated by the position of the peasants themselves, condemned to poverty, oppression and lack of any rights. The peasant movement was gaining in strength, and democratic opposition to autocracy was intensifying. Under the pressure of these various factors, tsarism was obliged to abolish serfdom, but the reform, which was implemented by the landed serf-owners was, of course, limited and retained many traces of serfdom. The peasants were given the worst land, the best being reserved for the landowners. The peasant allotments were pathetically small, but the compensation payment to the landowner was high. The tsar's family alone owned seven million desiatines* of land in the European part of Russia—more than was owned by half a million peasant families. The payment that had to be made by the peasants was the most obvious remnant of serfdom.

The peasants could not be satisfied by such a reform, and the years that followed were ones of continuous struggle by the peasants against the landowners and the autocratic regime.

However, despite the limited nature of the reform, it nonetheless gave the peasants legal freedom and thus made a flow of labour into industry possible. From 1861 onwards, capitalism started to develop rapidly bringing with it the growth of industrial production, the building of railways, etc. From 1866 to 1890 the number of factories doubled. Moreover, by using the latest technology, Russia was able

* dessiatine=approx. 2.7 acres.

to concentrate from the beginning on large-scale enterprises. By 1890 almost half of all the workers in Russia were concentrated at enterprises with 500 workers or more. This led to a high concentration of the working class in industrial centres, stimulating its unity and strength. Accustomed to serf labour and the absence of any legislation protecting the workers, the Russian manufacturers, in the race for profit, compelled the workers to work 12-13 hours a day, and in a number of enterprises up to 15-16 hours a day. The workers began an ever more resolute struggle against their exploiters.

"Capitalist Russia was advancing to replace feudal Russia. The settled, downtrodden serf peasant who stuck firmly to his village, had implicit faith in the priests and stood in awe of the 'authorities' was gradually giving way to a new generation of peasants, peasants who had worked as seasonal labourers in the cities and had learned something from their bitter experience of a life of wandering and wage-labour. The number of workers in the big towns, in the factories, was constantly on the increase. Gradually the workers began to form associations for their common struggle against the capitalists and the government. By waging this struggle, the Russian working class helped the peasant millions to rise, straighten their backs and cast off serf habits."¹

The working class assumed the lead in this struggle, standing at the head of all the oppressed labouring masses in Russia—the Russian peasantry and the populations at the national periphery. The Russian revolutionaries now faced a supremely important task—that of organising and politically educating this massive revolutionary force, helping it to understand its interests, indicating the path the struggle must take and rallying it around the working class.

The revolutionary-democratic ideas developed in the middle of the nineteenth century by Herzen, Belinsky, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky on the need for a revolutionary transformation of Russian society had a numerous following. They were the basis of the revolutionary Narodnik movement of the 1870s. The movement was so called be-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Fall of Serfdom", *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, p. 89.

cause its members "went to the people" ("narod" in Russian), to the peasantry, attempting to rouse it to struggle against tsarism. Marx and Engels noted the high level of Russian revolutionary-democratic thought, particularly that of Chernyshevsky. Nonetheless, the socialist ideals of the Russian revolutionary democrats were on the whole utopian. The representatives of Russian revolutionary democracy did not see (sometimes could not see) that the working class possessed that strength which was indeed capable of leading the struggle of all the oppressed in the cause of social transformation.

In the 1870s, working class organisations began to form. The first was the South-Russia Workers' Union which was set up in Odessa in 1876 and which spread within the workers' movement the ideas of political struggle and the establishment of independent proletarian organisations. In 1878, in St. Petersburg, the famous worker-revolutionaries Victor Obnorsky and Stepan Khalturin founded the North-Russia Workers' Union, whose programme clearly announced that the Union's goals were very similar to those of the social-democratic parties of the West. The South-Russia Workers' Union lasted for one year, the North-Russia Workers' Union for about two years before they were closed down by the police. However, it was too late to halt the workers' movement.

The revolutionary-democratic Narodnik ideas of peasant socialism were already unable to satisfy the workers, and conditions were ripening for the acceptance of the ideas of proletarian scientific socialism.

Individual works by the founders of Marxism were known in Russia in the 1840s, but they only began to spread among Russian revolutionary circles in the 1870s. Of major importance was the translation of *Capital*, which was first legally published in Russia in 1872. "...Almost immediately after the appearance of *Capital*," wrote Lenin, "the destiny of capitalism in Russia' became the principal theoretical problem for Russian socialists; the most heated debates raged around this problem, and the most important points of programme were decided in accordance with it."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 267.

Thus as early as the 1870s the ground was being prepared in Russia for the acceptance of Marxism by the entire process of the development of revolutionary thought and the workers' movement.

The task of spreading Marxism was first undertaken by the Emancipation of Labour group founded by Russian émigrés in Geneva in 1883, and headed by Georgy Plekhanov. The group propagated Marxist ideas, translated the works of Marx and Engels and spread them in Russia. However, it was not linked in its practical work with the mass workers' movement even though it was becoming vitally necessary to unite the latter with Marxism. The workers' movement was acquiring a hitherto unprecedented strength. Particularly demonstrative of this fact was the famous strike at the Morozov factory in Orekhovo-Zuyevo in January 1885. In presenting their demands, the workers were organised and showed tenacity and courage. The strike was suppressed by armed force. However, the trial of its organisers revealed such a horrific picture of abuse and contempt for the workers that even the jury of the tsarist court brought in the verdict "not guilty" on all 101 points of the indictment. The Morozov strike was evidence of the growing sense of worker solidarity and class identity.

During this period, underground Marxist organisations began to appear not only among émigrés but also in Russia itself. The growing struggle of the proletariat and the activity of Marxist organisations prepared the ground for the unification of scientific socialism with the mass workers' movement and for the appearance of a Marxist party in Russia.

The First Steps of a Young Marxist

In 1888, the eighteen-year-old Vladimir Ulyanov sent a letter to Chernyshevsky, but a correspondence did not result; Chernyshevsky, now returned from exile in Siberia, was seriously ill.

In 1895 Lenin went abroad and there tried to meet with Engels. Once more he faced failure: Engels, now seventy-five years old, was incurably sick and not receiving any visitors. Personal contact was never established, but the at-

tempts were revealing in themselves. It was from these people that Lenin would receive his great inheritance, the theory of Marx and Engels, and the ideas and experience of the Russian revolutionary movement. In the winter of 1888 he took detailed notes of *Capital* and started on a profound study of the other works of Marx and Engels.

Marx, Engels and Chernyshevsky were the philosophers and revolutionaries whose influence on the young Lenin was decisive. It must also be noted that the assimilation of these ideas, the formation of Lenin's personality took place in a family atmosphere rare for its intellectual and moral character.

The father of the family, Ilya Ulyanov, was the son of a Russian serf who had gone on to become a teacher, and then an inspector and director of elementary schools in the province of Simbirsk. He was a cultured man of high moral principles and a superb teacher. The eldest son of the family became a revolutionary and joined the Narodnaya Volya Party. On March 1, 1887, he was arrested for the attempted assassination of Tsar Alexander III and was executed in the Schlisselburg prison on May 8, 1887.

The mother of the family, Maria Alexandrovna, spoke several foreign languages and was knowledgeable in literature, painting and music. She brought up her children to share her knowledge and encouraged their all-round development. The seventeen-year-old Vladimir, full of admiration for his brother's courage, and that of the revolutionary Narodniks, reveals his capacity for independent thought: it is not by assassinating individual representatives of state power, nor even the tsar himself, that autocracy and oppression will be destroyed. "No, we won't take that path," he affirms decisively. "That is not the path to take."

By the 1880s the path being followed by the Russian revolutionary Narodniks had led to an impasse. They were unable to rouse the peasantry to revolt, unable to secure an improvement in their living conditions or the democratisation of society. The Narodnik movement was increasingly dominated by Narodnik non-revolutionaries, by *liberals* who dreamt of quiet and peaceful reforms.

The progressive thinkers of the day, the new generation of revolutionaries, faced the task of analysing and understanding the reasons for the collapse of the revolutionary

Narodnik movement and evaluating Narodnik liberalism, of discovering new ways of fighting autocracy and exploitation.

The analysis of these questions posed by the objective course of history was undertaken by Lenin. He began a study of Narodnik literature, of the works of Marx and Engels and those of major economists, philosophers and historians, and also the publications issued by the Emancipation of Labour group. He brought his reflections and conclusions to the student circles of Kazan University, which he had entered in 1887 to study law. Argument, dispute, discussion, further reading, further debate and further discussion of urgent social problems. The demonstration and student meeting at which the students expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the Moscow students against government repression also left a deep impression on Lenin, who was among its leaders. The result was his expulsion from the university and his first exile under police supervision. Maria Alexandrovna began to petition for the re-instatement of her son as a student, but this was refused at every level. The young exile, however, showed no signs of despondency. He used his time in exile to read.

The result of this reading, and one that was crucial to further activity, was the translation by Lenin of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels (1889). This did not as yet constitute independent work, but it was also not merely the translation of a foreign book. It was a choice of path, the start of which was the propagation of the great ideas of scientific socialism.

One of the major obstacles facing the spread of these ideas through the Russian revolutionary movement was Narodnik ideology.

The Ideological Struggle of the 1890s. The Defence and Development of Marxism

The Narodniks of the end of the nineteenth century differed significantly from those of the 1870s. They had ceased to be rebels rousing the people to struggle, they had ceased to be revolutionaries. The Narodniks of the nineties loyally turned to the government with a plan for minor and

pitiful reforms. However, their influence on Russian public opinion was still considerable.

Russian Marxists faced the major tasks of explaining Narodnik errors, providing a decisive criticism of Narodnik philosophy, revealing the inevitability of its degeneration into liberalism and petty reformism and exposing its socio-class roots.

The Russian Marxists, and in particular Plekhanov, took up the task. However, the decisive reply was provided by Lenin in his first major work *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* (1894).

By this time Vladimir Ulyanov was already well known in Marxist revolutionary circles. In 1892-1893 he led the Marxist circle in Samara, and then the Marxist circle in St. Petersburg, carrying out propaganda and organisational work among the Petersburg proletariat.

His handwritten essays criticising the Narodnik ideologists and analysing the social and economic problems facing Russia were also well known and widely circulated among the revolutionary youth. His speeches at illegal meetings were also known to the tsarist secret police.

The book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* opens with a critique of the philosophical basis of the Narodnik programme. The central thesis of Narodnik sociology was "the individual makes history". A leading Narodnik theoretician, Mikhailovsky, declared that, having arbitrarily defined something as desirable or undesirable, the sociologist should find the conditions in which the desirable can be achieved or the undesirable removed. As we can see, the decisive factor in the development of society is the existence of a strong desire on the part of a forceful individual able to subordinate the crowd. A philosophical trend denying the existence of objective laws governing history and reducing historical changes to the will and desire of the subject is known as subjectivism.

For the Narodniks, reality was the clay from which one could mould whatever one wished; they intended to take the "best" from capitalism and from the peasant commune and mix them together.

In his polemic with the Narodniks, Lenin showed that

reality is by no means merely a passive substance, a clay capable of taking any form according to the will of "heroes". Reality, he said, develops according to its own inner logic, according to objective laws which are essentially independent of the will and desire of individuals. Lenin then went on to show that society is a living, integrated and developing organism.¹ This Marxist concept of society as an integrated organism governed by objective laws of development is expressed in the teaching on socio-economic formations. "... Marx," wrote Lenin, "put an end to the view of society being a mechanical aggregation of individuals which allows of all sorts of modification at the will of the authorities, ... was the first to put sociology on a scientific basis by establishing the concept of the economic formation of society as the sum-total of given production relations, by establishing the fact that the development of such formations is a process of natural history."² Rather than attempting "to analyse and explain ... actual reality", Lenin continued, the Narodniks "presented us with a utopia contrived by senselessly plucking individual elements from various social formations".³

The views of the Narodniks are not simply utopian, declares Lenin further, but, in the most precise sense of the word, reactionary, as they express the desire to preserve the village commune, which in the conditions of Russian reality would be a means of enslaving the poorest peasants, for it is the poor peasants who, having neither the means of production nor the right to depart from the commune, are obliged to turn for help to the rich head of the commune, paying for this help with the greater part of their harvest or hiring themselves out to the rich as farm labourers.

As against the subjectivism of the Narodniks and their concepts of social development according to the designs of critically-minded individuals, Lenin put forward a teaching that views social development as an objective process independent of the will and desire of individuals and in

¹ See V. I. Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

which the decisive role is played by the *popular masses*, the real makers of history, acting in accord with these objective laws. The individual only becomes a prominent individual if in his theories and activity he reflects the interests of the masses and acts in accord with the objective historical laws.

Thus Lenin marked the boundary between the Narodniks and the Marxists. However, as Lenin pointed out later on, criticism alone was not enough.

The successful struggle waged by the Marxists, and in particular by Lenin and Plekhanov, against the Narodniks gave rise to a number of ideologists who called themselves Marxists, but who interpreted Marxism in their own particular way. They came to be known as "legal Marxists". In criticising the subjectivism of the Narodniks, the legal Marxists (Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and others) slipped into the opposite extreme. "The objective law is all, man is nothing" was their motto. Man is merely the passive executor of the demands of the inexorable objective laws, he is not the author of history (as the Narodniks claimed), but an actor playing his part according to a script written by forces standing over and above him. From this the legal Marxists drew practical conclusions: insofar as Russia has adopted the path of capitalism, and insofar as capitalism is a historically necessary stage in the development of Russian society, it is pointless to fight it. One must submit to this historical inevitability and promote the development of a capitalist formation that is progressive in comparison with feudalism.

Thus these highly unusual "Marxists" found themselves in the camp of the supporters of capitalism. Lenin also took up the attack against this pseudo-Marxism in his other major work of the 1890s, *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book* (1894-1895). This work has a subtitle which briefly but with startling precision characterises the essence of the legal Marxist position: "The Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature".

In Marxist philosophy, the "objectivity of the historical process" means something very different from the bourgeois concept of "objectivism". The historical process is the class struggle as determined by objective social conditions. Such

a concept obliges the sociologist not to limit himself to merely indicating the necessity of one or other historical process but also to investigating which classes are determining the content of that process, how and why. Thus the passive admission of the "necessity of the process" typical of the legal Marxists is replaced by a *revolutionary* call rising out of the objective possibilities and objectives of the class struggle, and openly and clearly formulating the interests and aims of the oppressed class in the social struggle. This means, Lenin sums up by way of conclusion, that the scientific objectivity of Marxism "includes partisanship, so to speak, and enjoins the direct and open adoption of the standpoint of a definite social group in any assessment of events".¹

These principles of the materialist concept of history were applied consistently by Lenin in developing the theory of the development of capitalism in Russia, the theory of the socialist revolution and the teaching on the revolutionary party.

In his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899), using a wealth of factual material and statistical data that he had carefully checked, analysed and classified, Lenin showed the dissolution of the village commune and the division of the peasantry into hired workers and village bourgeoisie, the formation of an all-Russia market. He pursued in detail the development of large-scale machine industry in Russia and revealed the capitalist nature of industrial production, clarifying the growing significance, both economic and political, of the Russian proletariat. In so doing he provided comprehensive and convincing proof that "the development of agrarian relations in Russia is proceeding on capitalist lines *both* in landlord *and* in peasant economy, *both* outside *and* within the 'village commune' ... That this development has already *irrevocably* determined that there will be no other path than the capitalist path, *no* other grouping of classes than the capitalist grouping."²

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 401.

² V. I. Lenin, "Letter to I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 118.

All this substantiated the proposition that Lenin had put forward in his *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*: Russia had moved irrevocably onto the path of bourgeois development, the exploitation of the workers in Russia had everywhere revealed itself to be essentially capitalist and the man of the future in Russia was the worker.

Naturally, such a conclusion meant that the revolutionaries were to shift the emphasis to work among the proletariat in order to enlighten them, show them the real causes of their oppression, rally and organise them and rouse them to mass political struggle against the class of capitalists and tsarist autocracy. The role of leader of the working class could only be filled by a revolutionary Marxist party, the formation of which was Lenin's main concern at the turn of the century.

VIII. Founding a New Kind of Party— the Party of Scientific Communism

Lenin's Plan for Founding the Party

The prototype of the revolutionary party of the Russian proletariat was the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class founded by Lenin in St. Petersburg in 1895. Here, for the first time in Russia, scientific socialism was united with the workers' movement. The St. Petersburg Marxists, led by Lenin, united worker circles of young Marxists into one revolutionary organisation which led strikes and issued leaflets. A major strike at the Thornton woollen mill at the beginning of November 1895, organised by the League of Struggle, set off a wave of strikes. The strikes in St. Petersburg between 1895 and 1896 introduced a new element into Russian history—that of preparation for people's revolution. For the first time, the working masses rose for the struggle *under the leadership of a social-democratic organisation*. The League of Struggle prepared the first issue of its illegal newspaper, *Rabochye Dyelo* (The Workers' Cause), and on December 8, 1895, revolutionaries were discussing the first number. That night most of the leaders of the League headed by Lenin were arrested.

On February 13, 1897, after fourteen months in prison, Lenin was informed of his sentence: exile to Siberia for three years. On May 8, 1897, he arrived in the remote Siberian village of Shushenskoye. At the beginning of May 1898, he was joined by Nadezhda Krupskaya, who became his wife.

In Shushenskoye Lenin wrote *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and his famous pamphlet *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*, in which he called on work-

er circles and Marxist organisations scattered throughout Russia to unite and found "a single *Social-Democratic Labour Party*".¹

The founding of such a party was being impeded by the activity of the "economists", who proposed to limit themselves to economic activity and set up organisations to achieve the satisfaction of the workers' economic demands only, leaving the political struggle against autocracy to the liberal bourgeoisie. This caused a dangerous tendency to establish a narrowly professional and not political organisation of the proletariat, robbing the working class of an independent political nature. Lenin resolutely opposed such a tendency.

In Siberia, with the support of 17 exiled Social-Democrats, Lenin wrote his Protest against the Manifesto elaborated by the "economists". It was a protest against the fragmentation of social-democratic forces, against the coterie nature and amateurish methods of work of their organisation, against the reduction of the task of the proletarian struggle to economic demands. The "economists" were dealt a heavy blow. Lenin concluded that the working class needed a party to be its political vanguard. The First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), which was held in Minsk in March 1898, officially announced the foundation of such a party. However, a united, centralised, all-Russia party did not as yet exist. What, therefore, was the best way to form such a party? This was the problem on which Lenin focussed his attention, particularly in his last year of exile.

By the end of his exile, Lenin had formulated the plan for the establishment of such a party down to the last detail. No party had ever before been founded via a newspaper. A newspaper was usually the organ and mouthpiece of an already existing party. First a party, then a newspaper, was the traditional sequence. However, such a course was impossible in the conditions then obtaining in Russia. Lenin had therefore found another solution to the problem—first a newspaper and then a party. The newspaper would serve for the collective Marxist formulation of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 347.

programme and strategy and tactic of struggle, for the exchange of experience and for teaching Marxism. Moreover, the newspaper would be a practical activity, the platform from which thousands of oppressed could speak; it would unite those who were preparing for the struggle against autocracy and exploitation. Around this focal point would gather the agents of the newspaper, the core of the future party. Lenin identified another important task for the newspaper; it would be not only a collective propagandist and agitator, but also a collective organiser. This was the main thing.

The plan matured. Lenin had now to convince his comrades. His exile over, he visited a number of cities, met with prominent Russian revolutionaries who led Marxist groups and obtained their agreement on the full support for the newspaper, on the forms of communication and ways and means of spreading the newspaper.

In July 1900, Lenin left Russia to deal with the practical arrangements. His idea was to publish the newspaper together with veteran Marxists in Russia, Plekhanov, Axelrod and Zasulich. The perfect name, *Iskra* (The Spark), had been found, together with an excellent watchword: "The spark will kindle a flame!" The first issue was published in January 1901.

Iskra brought clarity to working-class consciousness and the discipline of organisation into its ranks. With Lenin's decisive participation, the editors of *Iskra* drew up a draft Programme and Rules for the party and united the party organisations in Russia.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP took place from July 17 (30) to August 10 (23), 1903,* first in Brussels and then in London. The congress was the scene of a bitter struggle with the opportunists, the main weight of which fell on Lenin. The congress adopted the *Iskra* party programme with its propositions on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the right of nations to self-determination and proletarian internationalism. The programme adopted by the congress consisted of a minimum programme (a bourgeois-dem-

* The first date is according to the Julian, the second according to the Gregorian calendar.

ocratic revolution for the overthrow of autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic) and a maximum programme (a socialist revolution and the overthrow of capitalism).

Nonetheless, after the Second Congress the Party was still not a monolithic organisation. Two wings had formed within it: the Leninists, convinced supporters of *Iskra*, who had received the majority of votes in the elections to the central organs of the Party (and who were therefore known as the Bolsheviks), and the minority composed of opportunists (the Mensheviks). The battle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, which had started during the congress, flared up again with renewed force afterwards. Lenin saw in this a natural occurrence that must inevitably happen with the founding of a new type of party. In the course of the struggle, the genuinely revolutionary elements of the Party would be united and clearly distinguished from the opportunists, who brought only harm to the workers' movement. Such a distinction was all the more essential as Russia was on the eve of a revolutionary explosion.

The Basic Characteristics of the New Party

The proletarian party founded by Lenin is referred to as a party of a new type. What does this mean? It is all the more essential to understand what this means as today a bitter ideological struggle is being waged around the Leninist teaching on the party. Bourgeois ideologists, right-wing and "left"-wing revisionists are distorting the essence of this teaching and are presenting the history of the revolutionary practice of Bolshevism in this distorted form.

The main reason for these misinterpretations is the desire to attribute to Lenin the concept of the party as a small, organised group of conspirators whose aim is to seize power regardless of the objective conditions and the mood of the masses. In addition, some attempt to argue that the Leninist type of party, its structure, strategy and tactic were totally conditioned by the specifics of Russian development and therefore have no universal significance and cannot serve as a model for workers' parties in other countries. Such a view is completely erroneous.

Lenin was most careful to take into account the specifics of economic and social development in Russia, and this was reflected in the organisation and activity of the Leninist party. However, this specific form revealed general features which are characteristic of a revolutionary proletarian party of a radically new kind, features which, taken together, constitute the essence of such a party and have genuinely international significance. Such a fact is incontrovertible, if only because the Leninist principles of party structure have now been embodied in other communist parties and their activity.

What are these principles?

First and foremost, the Leninist party is *the party of socialist revolution*. At the time of its foundation the leading European parties of the working class had acquired new and important means of conducting the struggle: parliamentarism, participation in trade-union activity, legal mass organisations and the legal press. Ideologists appeared who exaggerated the importance of these forms of struggle, who denied the need for a proletarian revolution altogether, and among whom reformists and opportunists became increasingly vociferous.

Slowly but surely the word "revolution" emblazoned on the banners of the parties united together in the Second International was being replaced by the word "reform". "Typical of the socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International," wrote Lenin, "was one that tolerated in its midst an opportunism built up in decades of the 'peaceful period'."¹ A new party was needed, a party of the socialist revolution. In his work *What Is To Be Done?* (1901-1902), in which he conducted a sharp polemic with the Russian reformists (the so-called "economists"), Lenin clearly indicated the principal feature of the new type of party: "... the most essential, the 'decisive' interests of classes can be satisfied *only* by radical *political* changes in general. In particular, the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied *only* by a political revolution that will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat."²

¹ V. I. Lenin, "What Next?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 110.

² V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 390.

Lenin further explained in detail what it meant to be a party of revolution. It was not merely a case of simply proclaiming that the party intended to overthrow the power of the exploiters by force. This was the aim of the Narodniks in the 1870s, but still their organisations were not "parties of revolution" in the strict sense of the word, since they based themselves on a theory that in its essence was in no way revolutionary.

Being a party of revolution means, therefore, being a party that is firmly based on a *revolutionary theory*, the theory of Marxism. The most important characteristics of this theory that radically distinguish it from opportunist concepts are the slogans of *the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism*.

In their struggle with the opportunists, the Leninists succeeded in incorporating into the party programme adopted at the Second Congress of the RSDLP the thesis declaring that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the essential political condition of the victory of the socialist revolution.

Another major point in Lenin's draft programme was the clearly formulated thesis on the internationalist nature of the Party: "... Russian Social-Democracy regards itself as one of the detachments of the world army of the proletariat, as part of international Social-Democracy."¹ This thesis was also reflected in the decisions taken by the Second Congress and in the Programme it adopted.

The next characteristic that marks the new type of party is expressed in Lenin's formula: "*a party of the masses*". The dishonesty of those ideological opponents who attribute to Lenin the idea of creating a party that is a small organisation of conspirators can be judged by the way they avoid mentioning Lenin's constant criticism of the Narodnaya Volya members for their inability "to link their movement inseparably with the class struggle in the developing capitalist society",² a criticism that runs through all his writings. In contrast to Narodnaya Volya with its small group of conspirators, Lenin viewed the party as the van-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party", *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, p. 29.

² V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 474.

guard of all the workers, as an organisation whose task it was to enlighten, organise and rouse the entire proletariat, all the oppressed, to struggle against the exploiters.

The formation and structure of the party were conditioned by the need to be the party of revolution and the party of the masses. In order to be a party capable of rousing the workers to revolution, it must be united and disciplined, i.e., a *centralist* party, and in order to remain a party of the masses it must be a highly *democratic* party. The harmonious integration of centralism and democracy is the particular hallmark of communist party structure. This is the very essence of *democratic centralism*.

During the Second Congress of the RSDLP, a bitter struggle flared up between the "hard" Iskristis (Leninists) and the "soft" Iskristis (led by Martov), regarding the principles governing party formation and, primarily, the idea of centralism which, according to Lenin, "had to pervade the entire Rules"¹ and determine "the method of solving all particular and detail questions of organisation".² During the congress, the touchstone revealing the attitude to centralism was Paragraph 1 of the party Rules, defining the conditions of membership. Lenin insisted on the necessity of personal participation by party members in one of its organisations. Martov, his chief opponent, suggested that this be limited to "regular personal assistance". In other words, Lenin saw the party as a firmly united, militant organisation of revolutionaries bound together by the strictest discipline, while Martov mixed together within the party "organised and unorganised elements, those who lend themselves to direction and those who do not, the advanced and the incorrigibly backward..."³ Lenin here gives a concise description of the polemic that had arisen around the Rules: "the supporters of *bourgeois-intellectual individualism* who clashed with supporters of *proletarian organisation and discipline*".⁴

The supporters of Martov succeeded, by an insignificant majority, in getting their wording for Paragraph 1 of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 242.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Rules accepted by the Second Party Congress. However, the Third Congress went on to accept Lenin's wording.

Centralism won total victory and became a characteristic which did, indeed, pervade the entire organisational structure of the Bolshevik Party. This meant that the whole of party activity is based on one programme and one set of party rules, that leadership is conducted from one centre, the party congress, and between congresses by the Central Committee, that within the Party the minority is subordinate to the majority and the lower party organisations are subordinate to the higher. Centralism within the party organisation is a major factor in its mobility, militancy and success. However, as Lenin emphasised, genuine success is only possible when centralism is organically fused with democracy.

Lenin believed that one of the fundamental and most important principles of centralism was the *principle of publicity*. "It would be absurd to speak of democracy without publicity."¹ It was natural, therefore, that, even though the Party had to work underground in conditions of strictest secrecy, Lenin should have given much attention to the development of publicity, primarily within the Party. Under the supremely difficult conditions of illegal work, Lenin undertook the enormous task of regularly convening party congresses. These congresses were preceded by intensive, broad-based (in terms of an underground organisation) theoretical discussions in party cells, committees and illegal press, where party members discussed the materials being prepared for the congress, clarified any differences in the positions adopted by various party groups and leaders on questions of strategy and tactics, and defined their attitude towards them. Such discussions raised the level of political awareness in the ranks of the Party and further strengthened party unity and cohesion. Lenin constantly affirmed that only victory won in open battle with the enemy with the participation of all the members of the Party would consolidate the ideological and organisational strength of party ranks.

Lenin also ascribed great importance to another principle of democracy, that of *election*. In so doing, he drew at-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "What It To Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 477.

tention to the importance of party members being fully informed about the candidates' capacity to assume a leading role within the Party. Lenin insisted upon party spirit, in contrast to the secrecy of the Mensheviks, who attempted to establish central organs behind the backs of party members, and even congress delegates. He called for the assessment of a candidate according to his activity, an activity known not to just a small circle of individuals but to the whole Party, and for the responsibility and accountability of those elected to the broad party membership.

The Leninist principles of party democracy were clearly illustrated in collective leadership; Lenin always submitted to a collective party decision, even if he disagreed with it. It sometimes happened that he fought for a review of the decision, but he did so strictly within the party Rules. Further evidence of the democracy of Leninist party structure was Lenin's concern to ensure that a large number of workers was drawn into the central organs of the party.

These are the more important characteristics of the new type of party founded by Lenin.

The Party in the First Russian Revolution

The significance of the strategy and tactics of struggle elaborated by Lenin and used by the proletarian party in the first Russian revolution (1905-1907) is by no means limited to Russia and to the beginning of the twentieth century. It is of tremendous significance *today* for the entire liberation movement. This is because Lenin analysed the revolutionary process in Russia within the context of the *world* revolutionary movement; he examined the specifics of the Russian revolution from the point of view of the particular characteristics of the driving forces, the course and future prospects of the development of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the age of imperialism.

For Lenin, the cardinal feature of such a revolution was that, as a result of a series of new historical conditions, it was capable of growing directly into a socialist revolution.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the bourgeoisie (and the Russian bourgeoisie in particular) had clearly revealed its anti-popular class nature and had exhausted its

earlier progressive possibilities. The historical situation was such that the completion of bourgeois revolutionary transformations was a matter of greater interest to the working class and peasantry than to the capitalists. This fact was clearly noted by Lenin: "The victory of the bourgeois revolution is impossible in our country *as the victory of the bourgeoisie*. This sounds paradoxical, but it is a fact. The preponderance of the peasant population, its terrible oppression by the semi-feudal big landowning system, the strength and class consciousness of the proletariat, already organised in a socialist party—all these circumstances impart to *our* bourgeois revolution a *specific* character."¹

This "specific character" of the Russian revolution Lenin saw as arising from the fact that, although it was bourgeois in its aims and objectives, its basic driving forces would be the working class and the peasantry. "Only the proletariat," wrote Lenin, "can be a consistent fighter for democracy. It can become a victorious fighter for democracy only if the peasant masses join in its revolutionary struggle."² Thus Lenin formulated extremely important new propositions on the leading role of the proletariat and its alliance with the peasantry in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

This new formulation of the question of the mass driving forces of the bourgeois-democratic revolution led to a new formulation of *the basic question of the revolution—of state power*. Lenin showed that the victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution in which the proletariat was the dominant force would lead not to the bourgeoisie gaining power, as had been the case hitherto, but to *the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry*.

This combination of revolutionary driving forces, this form of revolutionary power is able to do away most rapidly, completely and decisively with the medieval, autocratic, feudal customs and ensure the resolute and consistent implementation of democratic transformations, of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Assessment of the Russian Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963, p. 56.

² V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 60.

minimum programme, with its demands for a democratic republic, an eight-hour working day, the confiscation of landowners' estates, and the recognition of the right of each nation to self-determination. The decisive, revolutionary implementation of these measures, carried through by the majority of the population, propels the revolution forward to such an extent that it inevitably arrives at the point at which it becomes a *socialist* revolution. "... From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organised proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop halfway."¹

Lenin elaborated his theory of the world revolutionary process in the age of imperialism and his teaching on the transition of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution while engaged in a bitter ideological battle with the overt and covert enemies of Marxism, with right-wing and "left"-wing opportunists, overcoming the errors and hesitations of his comrades in the Party. As they were developed, these theories were confirmed by the enormous organisational work Lenin carried out to unify the ranks of the Bolshevik Party and embody his theoretical propositions in the practice of the proletarian struggle.

On the eve of the 1905 revolution, Lenin elaborated in great detail that part of his revolutionary theory which dealt with the specifics of carrying through a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the new historical conditions. This was the main theme of his speeches at the Third Congress of the RSDLP (which took place in April 1905 in London), and also of his work *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (July 1905). The two tactics were those of two different tendencies within Russian Social-Democracy: the Marxist revolutionary trend of the Bolsheviks, and the opportunist trend of the Mensheviks. In his work, Lenin explained the decisions of the Third Congress of the RSDLP, the strategic plan and tactical line of the Bolsheviks in the revolution, and gave a critical analysis of the Mensheviks' tactical line, which they had adopted

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 237.

at their Geneva conference (1905). The programme presented in this book was the one used by the Bolsheviks in the 1905 revolution.

Revolutionary events confirmed Lenin's theses on the counter-revolutionary nature of the bourgeoisie, on the possibility and necessity of uniting the proletarian struggle and the peasant uprisings, on the maturity of the proletariat, on its readiness to assume leadership of the working people and become the dominant force of the revolution, and others. The Bolsheviks, guided by Lenin's ideas, had a noticeable effect on the course of the revolution. Wherever there were Leninists, the struggle was particularly energetic, large-scale and successful.

The Bolsheviks not only taught many about revolution, but also learned much from revolution. The strength of Leninism lies in its ability to evaluate and include within its theory anything of value created by the people in the course of revolution. Thus, during the revolution, the masses discovered a new form of revolutionary struggle and state power—the Soviets. Lenin made a careful study of this experience in all its aspects and later, in 1917, it was used in the elaboration of the revolutionary strategy of the Bolshevik Party during the socialist revolution.

The revolution produced much that was new regarding the tactics and organisation of forces for insurrection. In Moscow, for example, "barricade tactics" emerged which, as Lenin pointed out, "are the tactics of guerilla warfare. The organisation required for such tactics is that of mobile and exceedingly small units, units of ten, three and even two persons".¹ In supporting this revolutionary experience and revealing its significance, Lenin also indicated its inadequacy unless supplemented by other practical activity on the part of the revolutionary forces.

On hearing of the revolutionary actions of the masses, Lenin immediately prepared to leave for Russia. On November 8, 1905, he returned to St. Petersburg and was at once involved in hectic activity. He took charge of the work of the central and St. Petersburg committees of the Bolshevik Party, spoke at meetings and conferences in St.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising", *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1962, p. 176.

Petersburg and Moscow, and guided preparatory work for armed uprising. He supervised the publication of a legal newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) which in effect became the main organ of the Party.

The climax of the revolutionary events of 1905 was the December armed uprising in Moscow. Although the uprising was defeated, it was of enormous significance. "Before the armed insurrection of December 1905," wrote Lenin afterwards, "the people of Russia were incapable of waging a mass armed struggle against their exploiters. After December they were no longer the same people. They had been reborn. They had received their baptism of fire. They had been steeled in revolt."¹

How different was this analysis by Lenin from the conclusion drawn by Plekhanov: "The proletariat should not have taken to arms." "Yes, they should," answered Lenin, "only more resolutely, energetically and aggressively." The lessons learned from the uprisings in 1905-1907 were taken into account and widely used by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution of 1917.

The revolution of 1905-1907 showed how important it was that the struggle be led by a united party free of opportunists and waverers. It also revealed the danger of the factional activity of the Mensheviks. This lesson was also taken into account in the revolutionary struggle of 1917.

"Without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905," wrote Lenin, "the revolutions of 1917—both the bourgeois February revolution and the proletarian October revolution—would have been impossible."²

The revolution of 1905-1907 delivered a heavy blow against autocracy, obliging it to carry through a number of reforms and make a number of concessions. However, the revolutionary masses still lacked the strength and organisation to win victory.

From 1907 onward reaction started its all-out offensive. The police located Lenin, and the Bolshevik centre decided that he should leave Russia. He was to take charge of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Heroism of the Presnya Workers", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 373.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 310.

newspaper *Proletary* (The Proletarian), to be published abroad. Lenin and Krupskaya went via Helsingfors, Stockholm and Berlin to Geneva. The second emigration had begun. Once more Lenin showed no signs of despondency. The Bolsheviks knew how to advance, and also how to retreat—without panic, their ranks in order, preparing the next attack.

Retreat reveals who is not prepared for a hard and resolute struggle. A retreat tests the revolutionary depth of the Party and of all its members. Disheartened by the period of reaction, many Mensheviks (the so-called Liquidators) called for the liquidation of illegal party organisations and the end of revolutionary work. In practice this meant the liquidation of the revolutionary proletarian party as such. At the other extreme appeared small groups of Leftists (the so-called Otzovists from the Russian verb *otzvat'*, meaning "to recall"), who made adventurist demands for the cessation of all forms of legal activity by the Party, the recall of social-democrat deputies to the Duma and the continuation of the tactic of a direct revolutionary attack by small illegal groups. In fact this represented a call for the Party to be turned into a conspiratorial organisation cut off from the masses, a call for a break with Marxism.

The Struggle to Defend the Purity of the Proletarian World Outlook

It was necessary, in the interests of the revolutionary movement, to eliminate both the reformism of the Liquidators on the one hand and the leftist adventurism of the Otzovists on the other. This was no easy task, and it was further complicated by the fact that the leaders of both groups brought in not only economic and political arguments to defend their position, but also philosophical arguments. They thus tried to prove that their political programme had "deep roots" that sprang from "the latest philosophy", and that it was based on the latest scientific data. This "latest philosophy" allegedly superceding the "outdated" philosophy of Marxism was, in their opinion, that of the Austrian philosopher Ernst Mach—Machism or empirio-criticism, which means the philosophy of "critical experience".

Machism can be resumed as follows. Men are unable to know the world (things, objects) as it really is "in itself", since they do not deal with things and objects as such, but with their own sensations. That which we call a "thing" is nothing more than "the totality of our sensations" (or "a complex of elements", to use the Machist terminology). Whether anything lies beyond our sensations we do not and cannot know, since any knowledge of the world comes to us primarily via sensation. It follows from this that we cannot know the objective world, receive genuine knowledge. We cannot, according to Machism, know the laws that govern the material or social world around us. These propositions led to a subjectivist approach to practical, and in particular political, activity. If there is no objective truth, declared the supporters of Machism, if it is impossible to discover the objective laws on which one ought to base one's activity, then, in the end, everything depends upon the will and desire of men, on their ability to organise, etc.

Lenin's main task was to show that men are capable of understanding the surrounding world as it really is, "in itself", and that, therefore, they are capable of arriving at the *objective* truth, at discovering the *objective* laws that govern the material world and human society. It is indeed true that information about the world reaches us primarily via sensation, but sensation, as Lenin showed, is not a casing or a wall that cuts men off from the surrounding world, but, on the contrary, a bridge that unites them with the world. It is indeed true that, in investigating the world we do so primarily via our senses, but they *reflect* the objective qualities of things. The proof of this was human practical activity. If our senses did not accurately reflect the properties of things and the laws governing their relationships, we would be unable to bring things under our control: build houses, grow wheat and bake bread, construct flying machines, etc. Objects and things would not "obey" us, buildings would collapse, the grain sown in the ground would not grow, and attempts to take to the air would end in tragedy.

Practice—this is the criterion of truth. Such is one of the fundamental tenets of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The teaching formulated by Lenin in his *Materialism and Em-*

pirio-Criticism, which declares that human sensation and thought reflect the objects and phenomena of the objective world, that the accuracy of human knowledge is tested in practice (and primarily in the material productive activity of men), and that men are capable of arriving at a knowledge of the objective truth, is known as the *theory of reflection*. The elaboration of this theory was Lenin's major contribution to the treasury of Marxist philosophy.

The theory of reflection made it possible to provide a criticism not only of the philosophical views of the revisionists, but also of their political programme. Only a theory that recognises the existence of objective truth is capable of being the ideological basis of the proletarian class struggle, which is guided by the objective laws and contradictions of reality.

It should also be noted that the Machists adopted yet another line of approach in their attempt to attack the materialist concept of objective truth. How can one speak of the possibility of reaching the objective truth, they asked, when throughout the history of men there has been no knowledge of a single thing or phenomenon that was not later corrected, made more precise, or even rejected altogether? What kind of truth is it that needs to be corrected?

It is, of course, true that human understanding of any known thing or system of things undergoes change. However, what does this tell us? It certainly does not tell us that a knowledge of things as such, and therefore of objective truth, is impossible. It merely tells us that understanding, cognition, is not a single act, but a process, a long process of investigation by the human intellect into the essence of things, a process that starts with superficial knowledge, reflecting merely the external appearance of things, the properties that are immediately apparent, and then moves on to the identification of the inner laws that are hidden from direct observation. Thus what one is speaking of is simply the degree of cognition of the objective truth.

The discovery of the movement from incomplete, one-sided (abstract) knowledge to a more complete and more profound (concrete) knowledge was the second important aspect of the philosophical views propounded by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. The method defended by Lenin directed the Party and the working class to

the assimilation of all that was of value in the science and culture of the past and to their further development. The philosophical position of the Russian supporters of Machism (Bogdanov and his followers) demanded that this historical continuation be broken, that all that was old be rejected in the name of the new (the old including, incidentally, materialism). These slogans were dressed up in the most revolutionary and proletarian terminology: "Long live the new proletarian culture!" "Down with the culture of the past, built up by the exploiter classes!" etc. We now know where these slogans lead—to the Maoist "cultural revolution", which was their practical embodiment.

There is one more important aspect to be noted in the Leninist theory of reflection. When Lenin says that human sensations and thoughts constitute images or copies of the things of the objective world, he is not speaking of a mechanical passive "photographing" of objects in human consciousness. The ability to objectively reflect the external world is developed in the individual during the process of social upbringing and education, during social practice. This reflection is not possible without the development of the ability to imagine, to fantasise. Imagination and fantasy are essential in order to compare and contrast things, in order to see the universal in the particular, and the different in the same. In other words, reflection is also the creative activity of the conscious mind.

These philosophical guidelines formulated by Lenin directed the Party in its political struggle firstly to an accurate reflection, definition and investigation of objective laws and contradictions, secondly, to an elucidation of the objective tendencies of development and the objective requirements of social classes, and thirdly, to the formulation of slogans and objectives in the transformation of reality that corresponded not to the desire and will of "great organisers", but to the objective laws and interests of progressive classes.

Lenin firmly defended dialectical materialism from the revisionist theoreticians, revealing the groundlessness of the Machist attempts to refer themselves to the latest discoveries in physics, mathematics and other sciences, which allegedly confirmed the Machist philosophical denial of objective truth. Having analysed the main scientific discoveries

of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Lenin clearly showed that, rightly understood, they not only did not contradict the propositions of Marxist philosophy but, on the contrary, supported them.

In 1897, the electron was discovered. And, surprising as this seemed, the mass of this minute particle diminished with diminishing speed. "Matter disappears", it "transforms itself" into the immaterial "energy", asserted many physicists and, following in their wake, "the latest philosophers" attempting to overthrow Marx.

In 1896, natural radioactivity was discovered: the radioactive decay of the uranium atomic nucleus into atoms of other elements. It was found out that atoms are divisible, subject to change, that chemical elements can change one into another. There was a radical change in the view of the atom as the basic unit of all things. Previous scientific concepts of the homogeneity and simplicity of the atom, its permanence and indivisibility collapsed. Physicists and "the latest philosophers" then proclaimed that materialism was also collapsing, that as our knowledge changed it was not objective, etc.

It was not materialism that was collapsing retorted Lenin, but the simplistic (mechanistic, metaphysical) concepts of physics up to this point. It was not matter that was disappearing. What was disappearing was the previous frontier of our understanding of matter.

In analysing the latest discoveries of science at the turn of the century, Lenin showed that the natural sciences and philosophy do not replace each other but complement and enrich each other and collaborate in the great task of understanding and transforming the world, demonstrating the strength and validity of dialectical materialism.

A more profound exploration of the category "matter" and the fundamental tenets of dialectical materialism prepared the way for Lenin's major contribution to historical materialism.

Lenin refuted attempts by Bogdanov to "rectify" Marxism by using the thesis of the total identity of social consciousness and social being. Whatever activity men engage in, argued Bogdanov, they do so guided by certain aims, i.e., their activity is determined by their consciousness. Therefore it is inaccurate to speak of the primacy of social

being in relation to consciousness. Of course it is true, replied Lenin, that men, prior to engaging in any sort of activity, set themselves specific aims but, firstly, these aims reflect the contradictions and tendencies of social development, are *born of* social being, and, secondly, although men act in society according to specific aims they have set themselves, the objective results of their activity, particularly if taken in a broad historical context, are usually different from the aims that had been set, because the basic determinant is social being, its objective laws and possibilities, and consciousness is merely the reflection (roughly accurate) of this being.

The difference in the philosophical positions of Lenin and Bogdanov led to a corresponding difference in their political positions. The Leninist position was and remains that of a study of the objective tendencies in social being and the objective interests of the working classes, the transformation of reality in accord with its inner laws, while Bogdanov's position was that of subjectivistically, arbitrarily determining the aims without taking into account the objective interests of the workers, a position that saw "outstanding organisers", and not the popular masses, as the decisive force in the making of history.

Lenin proved that only the philosophy of Marxism (dialectical and historical materialism) can serve as the fundamental revolutionary theory of the proletariat, the basis of the strategy and tactics of its struggle. This thesis of Lenin is of enormous significance in the present struggle both with bourgeois ideology and with various opportunist and revisionist trends. Lenin showed that philosophy cannot be neutral, that it is class-based, partisan by its very nature. He continued to attach great importance to the theoretical elaboration of the basic problems of Marxist philosophy, as is shown by his famous *Philosophical Notebooks*. These notebooks contain numerous extracts from Hegel, Aristotle, Feuerbach and other philosophers and scholars, together with Lenin's own commentary and brief notes written mainly in 1914-1915. The material that constitutes the main content of the *Philosophical Notebooks* indicates that Lenin was preparing to write a work devoted to materialist dialectics, but he was unfortunately unable to fulfil this intent. Nonetheless, despite the fragmentary

nature of the *Philosophical Notebooks*, the content is so rich that one can confidently assert that, alongside *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and a number of other writings and articles, it constitutes a new step forward in the creative development of Marxist dialectics.

In the *Philosophical Notebooks* we find formulated for the first time in the history of Marxism the fundamental proposition that *the essence, the core of dialectics is the teaching on contradictions, on the unity of opposites*. "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics...."¹ The philosophical, general theoretical elaboration of the problems connected with the elucidation of the essence, types and forms of contradictions, and their significance in the development of the natural world and human society was all the more important since the proletarian revolutionary movement in Russia (which surged forward with renewed vigour after 1910) and throughout the world was faced with the task of analysing the extremely complex and urgent social contradictions of the age of imperialism, which found their clearest expression in the First World War of 1914-1918, unleashed by the imperialist countries.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Book *The Science of Logic*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, p. 223.

IX. Imperialism Is the Eve of the Socialist Revolution

On the Brink of the First World War

The new revolutionary upsurge in Russia found Lenin and Krupskaya in Paris, where the editorial board of the newspaper *Proletary*, the central organ of the Bolsheviks, had moved in 1908. It was for this reason that Lenin and Krupskaya arrived here from Geneva.

Lenin was expecting this revolutionary upsurge, had foreseen it, prepared himself for it and had himself helped to prepare it. In his articles in *Proletary* he indicated the solution to the tasks facing the proletarian movement and waged a resolute struggle to ensure the unity and revolutionary consistency of the Party, refuting the Otzovists and the Liquidators, the Trotskyites and Mensheviks, international opportunism and the leaders of the Second International, who were betraying the revolutionary cause. He undertook the education and training of revolutionary cadres who then returned to Russia to rally and unite the working class.

How much energy and enthusiasm, faith in the working class and the socialist revolution, conviction of the truth of the theory of scientific socialism were needed to work as Lenin worked. Even his opponents, albeit grudgingly, were obliged to recognise this fact.

The revolutionary upsurge in Russia came as Lenin anticipated, and he quickly organised the publication of a legal daily workers' newspaper. The first issue of *Pravda* appeared on April 22 (May 5), 1912. He also undertook the urgent task of consolidating the Party. The leftist adventurers, Otzovists and Machists were excluded, followed by the exclusion of the Liquidators at the Sixth All-Russia

Conference of the RSDLP, held in Prague in January 1912. The decisions adopted at the conference consolidated the organisational principles of Bolshevism and defined the political line and tactic of the Party in the conditions of revolutionary upsurge.

Together with increasing social contradictions within Russia went an aggravation of international contradictions. On July 19 (August 1), 1914, a world imperialist war began. At the beginning of the war, a serious threat hung over the leader of the Russian proletariat: on July 26 (August 8) Lenin was arrested in Poronin (Austro-Hungary). The "learned" police sergeant who had searched Lenin's flat mistook the statistical tables in his manuscript on the agrarian question for a coded message. It took urgent and energetic steps by international progressive public to obtain his release. On August 23, 1914, Lenin and Krupskaya arrived in neutral Switzerland and settled in Berne. The very next day, Lenin delivered a speech to a Bolshevik meeting on the attitude to be adopted towards the war.

The theses contained in this speech later served as the basis of the manifesto issued by the CC of the RSDLP, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", in which Lenin defined the political line and slogans of the Bolshevik Party: "Defeat to our government" and "The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war". In their manifesto the Bolsheviks declared war on the opportunists of the Second International, who spoke in defence of their imperialist governments, arguing that the governments of other countries were guilty of unleashing war. The leadership of the Second International betrayed the principle of proletarian solidarity.

Lenin laboured energetically to unite the small but increasingly larger and more influential groups and factions of internationalists who had remained loyal to the great rallying-call of Marx and Engels: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" Of great importance in this respect were the international conferences held in Zimmerwald (August 1915) and Kienthal (April 1916).

Lenin armed the international working class with a clear revolutionary tactic concerning the war. During this same period he also solved another problem of major importance, that of understanding the war itself and its causes. It

was essential to provide a comprehensive Marxist analysis of the essence of the new stage in the development of capitalism, a stage that was to be called *imperialism*.

The Highest and Last Stage of Capitalism

In 1916, Lenin wrote the work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Having analysed a vast amount of historical data, Lenin concluded that at the beginning of the twentieth century capitalism had entered into a new, imperialist stage of development. "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."¹

This conclusion is extremely important. A new stage means a new set of laws and new features of social development, a new correlation of class forces. This, in turn, necessitates an analysis of this new set of laws governing the revolutionary process and the proclamation of new slogans for the struggle.

It was all the more necessary to elucidate these matters as certain well-known social-democratic theoreticians were beginning to dispute the relevance of Marxist theory in the new age. They were attempting to convince the working class that the Marxist revolutionary slogans were outdated, that the predatory nature of capitalism was changing, that the position of the working class had improved and that, therefore, it was now possible to adopt the path of reform. Hence it was vital for the cause of the proletarian revolution that the new stage of capitalism be accurately assessed and the revolutionary future of the working class and its party be clearly defined.

In his definition of imperialism as quoted above, Lenin indicated its main characteristics. The main and decisive

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp. 266-67.

characteristic is *the first—the appearance and development of monopolies, the monopolisation of production*; the remaining characteristics follow as a consequence. For this reason imperialism is also known as monopoly capitalism.

A *monopoly* is a large capitalist association (trust, syndicate, cartel) that has monopolist, i.e., undivided, control of one or even several branches of production.

Prior to the emergence of monopolist associations, social production in capitalist countries developed in conditions of rivalry among a large number of private owners, among separate and independent manufacturers. None of them could determine with sufficient accuracy what amount and what kind of goods were demanded by society. Each produced at his own risk, and only when the goods came on the market was it revealed whether they were needed by society and whether the quantity was sufficient. Social production was anarchic, not under conscious human control. Those who “miscalculated” social demand went bankrupt, and those who “guessed” correctly grew rich quickly. Those who grew rich were able to invest in the latest technology, thus increasing productivity and lowering the value and price of the produce, thereby gradually ousting their competitors from the market. Large-scale capitalists bought up the enterprises of their less lucky rivals. In order to maximise profit they united with other large-scale capitalists, gradually converting capitalist enterprise into monopoly.

The industrial monopolies required the larger, more flexible and more secure financial means controlled by the banks. For their part, the banks, granting ever-larger loans at interest to the capitalists to finance industrial expansion, had a vested interest in the success of the industrial monopolies. Leading bankers began to move into ruling industrial circles, and major industrialists began to enter banking. As a result, industrial capital fused with bank capital, forming what is known as finance capital. *The formation of finance capital is the second major characteristic of imperialism.*

The fusion of bank and industrial capital led to the creation of associations so huge that their own country, their own national market, was too small for them. They began to transfer capital abroad, usually into less developed countries. Here they set up “daughter” branches of their enter-

prises, plundering the local natural resources and exploiting the cheap labour force. *The export of capital is the third major characteristic of imperialism.*

Just as in the pre-monopoly period of capitalism, when private owners had waged a fierce battle in their own country, so now the capitalist giants wage a similar war in the international arena. These economic contests are on a scale such as their predecessors never dreamt of, and in the midst of these struggles the expansion of the monopolies continues. Some of the capitalist associations surrender outright, while others amalgamate, dividing up the world and securing for themselves huge economic domains. “This is a new stage of world concentration of capital and production,”¹ declared Lenin. *The formation of super-monopolies, of international monopolist associations dividing the world between them, is the fourth characteristic of imperialism.*

The world is divided among the super-monopolies according to the amount of capital they possess and their economic might. However, it would be naive to imagine that the battle among the monopolies is a purely economic battle. Their efforts to retain world dominion are not limited to economic measures alone (customs, taxes, pricing policies, increased productivity, advertising, etc.). An important weapon in the arsenal is the sword, the fully-equipped armies of the imperialist states. Thus the economic division of the world by the monopolies is supplemented and strengthened by the division of the world among the imperialist states, who turn the less developed states into politically dependent colonies and who are prepared at any minute to use bayonets, planes and tanks in defence of “their” capitalists. *The final territorial division of the world by the largest capitalist powers is the fifth characteristic of imperialism.*

In what way did the rise of monopolies affect capitalist society and its economic, political and class relations? What changes, therefore, must Marxists introduce into their theory of class struggle and theory of revolution to bring it in line with the new situation? These were the urgent and complex questions facing the theoreticians of the working class at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 246.

In seeking to answer these questions, some members of the international social-democratic movement called for the principal tenets of Marxist theory and its revolutionary conclusions to be abandoned. The German Social-Democrat Eduard Bernstein became the leader of those who demanded a radical revision of Marxist views, the "revisionists". The rise of monopolies, wrote Bernstein, leads to a situation in which some of the basic contradictions of capitalism disappear while others are softened to the point where they can be solved by peaceful reform and revolution is not necessary.

According to Bernstein, such reforms are possible because, firstly, a monopoly, having seized control of a whole branch of the economy, puts an end to disorder, to the anarchy that marked the first stage of capitalism. Secondly, he continued, the rapid growth in production brings with it an improvement in the material position of the working class (and here he produced statistics indicating the actual increase in wages in certain branches of the economy). Anti-Marxist literature began to quote the fluent arguments advanced by Bernstein to the effect that now the workers "had something to lose". ("Why", asks, for example, one contemporary bourgeois theoretician, Herbert Marcuse, "should a worker who has a television and a refrigerator want revolution?"). Thirdly, argued Bernstein, the export of capital and colonisation promote the economic and cultural development of the less advanced countries. Bernstein declared Marxism to be "outmoded" and its major concept of a proletarian revolution to be "profoundly erroneous". The books and articles published by Bernstein and larded with numerous, seemingly scientific "facts" and "figures" presented a serious threat to the proletarian movement.

Lenin produced a devastating criticism of revisionist theories. He revealed the actual scope and limit of changes within monopoly capitalism which, far from removing or softening, further aggravated the social contradictions that had marked the previous stage.

It was true, Lenin said, that a certain degree of economic planning emerges under monopoly capitalism, but this planning contains nothing of a socialist nature. Maximum profit can also be "planned". "Planning," wrote Lenin, "does not make the worker less of a slave, but it enables the

capitalist to make his profits 'according to plan'." ¹ Lenin, using facts and figures, showed that this type of "planning" was characteristic of monopoly capitalism.

However, monopoly capitalism does not produce anything approaching comprehensive planning. A degree of planning emerges in individual branches of the economy, where one or other monopoly has undivided control. However, if one takes individual countries and the world economy *as a whole*, the merciless struggle among monopoly giants for spheres of influence and super-profit is revealed. "Monopoly," declared Lenin, "can never completely, and for a very long period of time, eliminate competition in the world market."² Monopolies and financial capital, he stressed, "do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy".³ Quoting numerous examples, Lenin showed how England was losing its position as the economic leader of the world, how France was falling behind, how the United States of America was moving ahead, and Germany and Japan, done out of their share during the redivision of the world, were rapidly increasing their power. From this Lenin drew an exceptionally important conclusion: "The question is: what means other than war could there be *under capitalism* to overcome the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and spheres of influence for finance capital on the other?"⁴

Lenin showed, and subsequent history confirmed, that the aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism in the imperialist age leads to wars that bring untold misery to the peoples of the world. Tens of millions perished in the two world wars unleashed by the imperialists, and that is only part of the dreadful tribute mankind must pay to imperialism.

Lenin also proved that the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction that caused Marx and Engels to draw

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 306.

² V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 276.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

the conclusion of the inevitability of a socialist revolution, was not diminishing but rather increasing. "Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few."¹ Thus "the immense progress of mankind, which achieved this socialisation, goes to benefit . . . speculators",² and thus monopoly "inevitably engenders a tendency to stagnation and decay" "the motive cause of technical . . . progress disappears to a certain extent", hence "the extraordinary growth . . . of a stratum of rentiers, i.e., people who live by 'clipping coupons', who take no part in any enterprise whatever, whose profession is idleness."³ Therefore, *imperialism is parasitic, decaying capitalism*, and the conclusion on the inevitability of a socialist revolution, as drawn by the founders of Marxism, retains all its validity.

Lenin also examined in detail those social forces, embodied in the working class and its natural ally, the peasantry, who are called upon to perform a feat that will liberate the world—the revolutionary overthrow of the power of capital.

Lenin gave particular importance to Marx's conclusion that the working class is the main driving force in the socialist revolution and the building of a new society. "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society."⁴ It is precisely this proposition that was and is still subjected to the most vicious attacks by the opponents of Marxism-Leninism. Basing themselves on the "latest data" they attempted (and still attempt) to prove that under monopoly capitalism the working class becomes less and less revolutionary. In support of this conclusion they frequently use the following two arguments: the improvement of the material position of the working class and the reduction of that class in size and importance (in comparison with those engaged in intellectual work).

Lenin showed convincingly that in fact the social position of the worker deteriorates. His social deprivation

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-77.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", *Collected Works*. Vol. 18, p. 582.

grows, his wage lags behind the consumer demands stimulated by the very growth of production, he is increasingly reduced to the level of an adjunct of the machine and crippled both mentally and physically—and this is far from being a complete list of the "achievements" of modern capitalism in solving the "labour question". Today the words of Lenin ring out with the same force as ever: "...The yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable."¹ Capitalism is constantly reproducing the very system that feeds the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

Bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians advance yet another conclusion that does not stand examination. Basing themselves on the fact that the number of those engaged in physical labour diminishes in advanced capitalist countries, the opponents of socialism conclude that the working class steadily declines in number as its members join the ranks of the intelligentsia. Therefore, they assert, the working class yields its position on the historical scene to other sections of society.

However, neither Marx and Engels nor Lenin restricted "proletariat" to those who are engaged only in physical labour. In Marxist-Leninist theory, the working class is the class of wage-workers deprived of their own means of production, living solely by the sale of their own labour power and exploited by capital directly in the process of production.² This definition—and it is a correct scientific definition—does not prevent those workers in industry whose work is intellectual rather than physical from being comprised under the term "proletariat". The degree of creative intellectual work performed by highly skilled workers dealing with complex modern technology is increasing.

Moreover, Lenin pointed to the growing "proletarianisation" of mental workers in the imperialist period. History has fully confirmed this thesis. The proletarianisation of mental workers, their closer identity with the working class and occasionally their direct fusion with this class as a spe-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 205.

² See K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 424; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 84.

cific grouping within it is a widespread process today. In contemporary age, when science turns into a direct productive force, as was noted by the 1969 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, intelligentsia increasingly fills the ranks of wage-workers. The result, therefore, is not a diminution of the working class and a shrinking of the social base of the socialist revolution, but an expansion of both due to the growing number of wage-workers.

Lenin showed, and history confirmed, that in the period of monopoly capitalism the working class remains the main, the decisive and the ever-growing force of revolution.

Another important indication of the increasing contradictions and general crisis of the entire capitalist system in the imperialist period is the growing contradiction between world imperialism and the peoples of those countries who lag behind in their development. The growing national liberation movement in those countries is the most convincing proof of the falsity of revisionist assertions concerning the "benefits" that they would allegedly receive from monopoly capitalism.

Thus, imperialism is a social system that impedes and distorts the development of the productive forces and that is literally torn apart by the social contradictions between social production and private appropriation, between the capitalists and the proletariat, between monopolies, between imperialist states, and between imperialist states and the peoples of other countries.

The source, the prime cause of this chain of contradictions is private ownership of the means of production. Production in individual countries and in the world as a whole increasingly becomes social production, whose sectors and branches are closely interconnected and mutually interdependent. Such production requires planned management at national and even at international level. However, it is in fact in the hands of a few monopolist associations, which manage production "at their own discretion", striving to win over their rivals, giving top priority to the selfish interests of a few wealthy owners and not hesitating to use any means, even fascist-terrorist methods of government and devastating wars, to attain their ends.

Exposing and destroying the cancer of private property is the task objectively set by history before the proletariat.

Monopoly capitalism, more than any other previous social system, has aggravated the contradiction between social production and private appropriation, and has thus ensured the inevitability of socialist revolution. Hence Lenin's conclusion: "Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

The Basic Tenets of the Theory of Socialist Revolution Following from Lenin's Analysis of Imperialism

On the basis of the new conditions and characteristics of socio-economic development as they take shape under imperialism, Lenin elaborated a number of new and vitally important propositions concerning the theory of revolution, and examined the previous propositions in closer detail.

The law of increasing unevenness in the economic and political development of capitalism in the imperialist period, discovered and comprehensively investigated by Lenin, played a major role in the development of the theory of socialist revolution. This unevenness leads to the emergence of weak links in the chain of world capitalism, points at which all social contradictions have acquired particular force and antagonism. Here arise the conditions that make it possible to break apart the imperialist chain. On the basis of the uneven growth of contradictions in the imperialist system, Lenin drew the important conclusion that the socialist revolution would occur at different times in different countries and that it would most probably occur first in places where the most acute contradictions of imperialism appeared in their most concentrated form.

In 1915-1916, using the conclusion on the uneven development and maturing of the proletarian social revolution, Lenin showed that socialism could be victorious first in just a few, or even one country. This conclusion was the basis of Lenin's strategy and tactic of struggle for the victory of a socialist revolution in Russia.

Modern opportunists attempt to present Lenin's theory of socialist revolution as a theory relating exclusively to the Russian revolution. Such a view is groundless.

When Lenin analysed social relations in Russia, he saw them as a *link in the world chain* of social relations. As he led the struggle of the Russian working class against Russian capitalists and autocracy, he was fully aware that this struggle represented a breach in world capitalism. A Russian revolutionary leading the revolutionary struggle of the workers of Russia against Russian oppressors, Lenin was also an international revolutionary leading a world revolution against world capitalism. "The great honour of beginning the revolution has fallen to the Russian proletariat. But the Russian proletariat must not forget that its movement and revolution are only part of a world revolutionary proletarian movement."¹

Lenin was the theoretician and leader of the world revolutionary movement. The mere enumeration of the major propositions of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution clearly reveals its international nature and world significance. Apart from the propositions already mentioned (on the ripeness for socialist revolution of the world system of capitalism in the age of imperialism, on the aggravation of its uneven development, on the possibility of the proletariat winning victory first in a few or just one country, on the weak link in the chain of imperialism) there are also the following: on the division of the world into two different social systems; on the bringing of the masses to socialist revolution; on the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry as the decisive driving force in the socialist revolution; on allying the struggle for socialism and the national liberation struggle; on the strategy and tactic of the revolutionary proletariat in the socialist revolution; on the development of bourgeois-democratic and national liberation revolutions into socialist revolutions; on combining the struggle for democracy with that for socialism; on the decisive role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the defence of the gains of the socialist revolution; on the non-capitalist path of development of peoples who have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke. Here is the proof that we have every right to speak of the international nature of Leninism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 227.

An important and integral part of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution is his teaching on *the revolutionary situation*.

Having made the general conclusion that imperialism is the precursor of socialist revolution, Lenin investigated and described in detail the objective conditions in which socialist revolution is possible and essential. He established that revolutions are not born ready made, cannot be artificially created or imported from abroad. Revolution cannot be achieved "wherever one wants" and "whenever one wants", on the mere desire of revolutionary groups. Revolution must ripen within society. These *objective conditions of revolution*, which form independently of the will of individuals and parties, Lenin called "the revolutionary situation". The revolutionary situation is characterised by three main features: firstly, when the ruling classes are unable to continue their rule as before. Lenin wrote: "For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way". Secondly, "when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual". Thirdly, when "as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses".¹

However, Lenin continues, objective conditions do not turn into revolution of themselves. Here the *subjective factor* is also essential: the capacity of the revolutionary class for revolutionary mass action that is sufficiently powerful to be able to smash the old government; the work of the Party to rally the masses; the choice of the right moment for revolutionary uprising and the ability to lead it to victory, for revolution, to quote Lenin, is not only a science but also an art. Lenin's teaching on the relationship of the proletariat to the state is the next stage in the development of the theory of socialist revolution.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 213-14.

X. V. I. Lenin on the Proletarian Revolution and the State

The Blue Notebook

Fidel Castro once recalled that the Cuban revolutionaries, those who stormed the Moncada barracks and fought in the hills of the Sierra Maestra, carried in their rucksacks, alongside their cartridge belts, pistols and grenades, yet another weapon—the book *The State and Revolution* by Lenin. A book must be very important for a revolutionary, for a guerilla, if he takes it with him despite the difficulties of a soldier's life, where every gramme is counted and every gramme must count.

This book by Lenin is seen as a mighty weapon by revolutionaries in every continent, by the heroic soldiers of Angola and the anti-fascists of Chile, by the Communists in Portugal and the Communists in Vietnam, by the selfless fighters in every country where the last and decisive battle between the world of labour and the world of capital is either approaching or has already begun. This book contains not only the general theory of the social struggle, not only general advice, but also—and this is what gives it its particular value and significance—the resume of the history and experience of the world revolutionary struggle and, particularly, an outline of the programme for revolution, the programme of what we now call the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In Zurich in the autumn of 1916, Lenin began to make systematic notes on the works of the founders of Marxism dealing with the question of the state. From the beginning of 1917 he took with him to the library a notebook with a blue cover. Here, in small handwriting, he wrote out extracts from Marx and Engels with his own commentary,

comparing the clear and profound thought of the founders of Marxism with the theoretical poverty of the ideologists of opportunism. On the cover of the notebook he wrote "Marxism on the State". This notebook was destined to become a classic, entering history as "The Blue Notebook". On the basis of the material it contained, Lenin wrote the book *The State and Revolution*.

Soon the February bourgeois revolution began, and at the beginning of April 1917, Lenin returned to Russia. He gave all his energy to the political struggle. Both the time and the conditions were lacking for serious theoretical work. After the July demonstrations by the Petrograd workers had been ruthlessly suppressed, Lenin was obliged to go underground. It was a time when even certain prominent Bolsheviks believed that there would now be a pause, an ebb in the revolutionary movement. However, Lenin's view of the situation was more profound and far-seeing. In the preface to the first edition of *The State and Revolution*, published in August 1917, Lenin noted that the horror and misery of protracted war would make the position of the masses intolerable and would serve to increase their discontent; the proletarian revolution was approaching. Therefore the question of its attitude to the state was acquiring "...not only practical political importance, but also the significance of a most urgent problem of the day, the problem of explaining to the masses what they will have to do before long to free themselves from capitalist tyranny".¹

Why does this book, written in response to the events of the day, retain its significance now? Why is it still profoundly up-to-date?

Firstly, this is because the event of the day was the October Socialist Revolution, which cannot become an event of the past because it determined and continues to determine world social development. Secondly, many countries of the modern world, communist and workers' parties and the national liberation movement face today the same questions that were solved by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in the summer and autumn of 1917. Thirdly, the book provides a critique of opportunist and revisionist concepts which

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 388.

are still alive. Fourthly, it gives a clear and complete account of the aims of communist construction and the communist ideal, and of the main stages in achieving it. Finally, in resolving the urgent issues of the day, Lenin linked them to the solution of the basic problems of Marxist theory. Thus in formulating the concrete programme and tasks of the revolutionary proletariat in relation to the state, Lenin deals with the fundamental postulates of Marxist theory regarding the state in general (its origins, essence, stages and forms of development). Lenin's solution of the problems of the day is irrefutable and convincing exactly because it is too thorough and precise.

The Main Question of the Revolution

In one of his letters, Lenin formulated the key questions he dealt with in the book as follows: "... *How* can the revolution take place, what is the dictatorship of the proletariat, why is it necessary, why is it *impossible* without arming the proletariat, why is it fully compatible with complete, all-round democracy (in spite of the vulgar opinion)?"¹

The depth and scientific nature of the Marxist-Leninist answer to these questions are revealed particularly clearly in comparison with two alternative and inimical concepts—the right-wing opportunist or reformist concept and the left-extremist, anarchist concept. These two views hostile to scientific communism existed in the days of Marx and Engels; they were still circulating in Lenin's lifetime and they continue today, albeit in a somewhat modified form. In analysing the present views of opportunism we are basing ourselves on Lenin's analysis of opportunism as it was then, and in particular on his analysis of the ideas concerning the essence and role of the state.

Kautsky and other ideologists of the Second International asserted that the state is a supraclass structure in charge of the affairs of society and serving to reconcile the classes. In their opinion, therefore, the state is not a hostile force opposing the proletariat and there is no need for its revolutionary overthrow.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "To Inessa Armand", *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 282.

Lenin sharply criticised this viewpoint. Revealing the essence of Marxist teaching, he shows that the state is the instrument whereby one class dominates another, is the product and expression of irreconcilable class contradictions. It emerged historically following the formation of exploiter and exploited classes and it did not emerge in order to reconcile these classes, but in order to enable the ruling class to "restrain" the oppressed. Thus paid officials and special armed contingents—the army and the police, with prisons and other means at their disposal—are essential parts of the state apparatus. It follows from this that the oppressed class must smash the old state machine. This is the revolutionary conclusion of the Marxist theory of the state.

The capitalist state may take different forms: a constitutional monarchy or a bourgeois republic. Lenin showed how to see the essence behind the form, to see that, whatever form the bourgeois state takes, its essence is one and the same—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the proletariat cannot be reconciled with the bourgeois state whatever form it takes.

Kautsky and other reformists rejected the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. This was apostasy, betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. The revisionists lulled the working class with illusions, placing their hopes exclusively on peaceful, parliamentary forms of struggle. They dreamt of a situation in which the proletariat would come to power by winning an election and the bourgeoisie would voluntarily hand over its ruling positions. "... To assume that in a revolution which is at all profound and serious the issue is decided simply by the relation between the majority and the minority is ... an attempt to *deceive the people* by concealing from them a well-established historical truth. This historical truth is that in every profound revolution, the *prolonged, stubborn and desperate* resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years retain important practical advantages over the exploited, is the *rule*. Never ... will the exploiters submit to the decision of the exploited majority without trying to make use of their advantages in a last desperate battle, or series of battles."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 253-54.

History fully confirmed this view. Nowhere has the bourgeoisie ever voluntarily ceded its power and privileges. Never has it refrained from using the most savage terror against the people who have risen to fight for their liberation. Thus has it always been and thus is it today. Suffice it to recall the relatively recent events in Chile, where the lawful government of Allende was overthrown by the fascist clique of Pinochet, which subjected the country to bloody repression simply because that government had tried to pursue a policy that met the interests of the people.

Marxists are by no means supporters of the use of force "whatever the cost, everywhere and always". "Socialism," declared Lenin, "is opposed to violence against men in general. Apart from Christian anarchists and Tolstoyans, however, no one has yet drawn the conclusion from this that socialism is opposed to *revolutionary* violence. So, to talk about 'violence' in general, without examining the conditions which distinguish reactionary from revolutionary violence, means being a philistine who renounces revolution, or else it means simply deceiving oneself and others by sophistry."¹

Marxists-Leninists are not opposed in principle to a peaceful path to socialism (one not involving armed clashes) and do not deny its possibility. However, declared Lenin, repeating Marx and Engels, such "peaceful" possibilities have so far presented themselves very rarely in the course of history. Marxists-Leninists are not opposed to reforms in bourgeois society if they improve the position of the working class and help to arouse its revolutionary awareness. Communists are not opposed to the use of parliamentary forms of struggle, but never, in using them, do they lose sight of the main aim—preparation for a socialist revolution. Therefore Marxists-Leninists use bourgeois democracy, democratic institutions and democratic rights in order to develop the working class and in order to fight for socialism.

In contrast to the reformists, who see reform as the end in itself and merely seek to achieve better conditions for the workers to sell their labour, to live a "quiet life", Marxists-Leninists see reforms in a capitalist society simply as

a means of easing the struggle. In this way, democratic reforms are linked to revolution. Marxists-Leninists see reforms as a means of bringing revolution nearer, and revolution as a means of implementing genuine and complete democratic reforms (together with other reforms stemming from the tasks of the revolution itself). This is the dialectic of democracy and socialism, of reform and revolution. This is the Marxist-Leninist answer to the question of how the proletariat is to win power, and the question of power is the central question of revolution.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot adopt the position of the anarchists and left-extremists, who cried "Down with the state!" and who demanded not only the immediate destruction of the old, exploiter state but also the rejection of any kind of state power. The anarchists, remarked Lenin, "... want to abolish the state completely overnight, not understanding the conditions under which the state can be abolished". "The anarchists even deny that the revolutionary proletariat should use the state power."¹ But the proletariat requires state power as its most important instrument for creating the new society in which there will be neither exploitation of, nor violence against the workers.

The Proletarian State

What must replace the bourgeois state after the revolution? How does the power of the proletariat differ from other forms of state power? What is the essence of the proletarian state?

Lenin answered these questions as follows: From "capitalist democracy—that is inevitably narrow and stealthily pushes aside the poor, and is therefore hypocritical and false through and through—forward development does not proceed simply, directly and smoothly towards 'greater and greater democracy', as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, forward development, i.e., development towards communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 489.

otherwise, for the *resistance* of the capitalist exploiters cannot be *broken* by anyone else or in any other way".¹

"The replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state will be the replacement of 'pure' democracy by the forcible dictatorship of one class!" cried the theoreticians of the Second International, Kautsky and Scheidemann, Adler and Renner. Not true, Lenin replied. It will be the replacement of democracy for the rich by democracy for the poor. It will be a gigantic, world-historic extension of democracy, its conversion from a lie into the truth, the liberation of humanity from the chains of capitalism, which distorts and curtails even the most "democratic" and republican bourgeois democracy.

As society develops and the economic, political, military and cultural power of the proletariat increases, the state begins to wither away, turns into a "non-state". Such, in fact, is the dialectic of history: from the bourgeois state (the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which develops into a socialist state of the entire people whose development finally leads to the withering away of the state.

However, as Lenin was careful to emphasise, the withering away of the state can only occur in conditions of complete communism.

What social processes must take place for the state to become redundant?

(a) An enormous development in the productive forces of human society on the basis of public ownership, with strict control over production and distribution and accounting for labour and products.²

(b) The disappearance, on the basis of this enormous development in the productive forces, of the distinction between intellectual and physical labour "one of the principal sources of modern *social inequality*".³ The comprehensive and universal development of each individual. The liquidation of essential differences between the town and the village.

(c) An unprecedented extension of democracy, when "everyone in fact participates in the running of the state".

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

² *Ibid.*, p. 473.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

"...When *all* have learned to administer and actually do independently administer social production, independently keep accounts and exercise control... The escape from this popular accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment... that the *necessity* of observing the simple, fundamental rules of the community will very soon become a *habit*."

"Then the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it the complete withering away of the state".¹

Armed with Lenin's programme for revolutionary struggle and his plan for the building of the socialist state as set forth in his book *The State and Revolution*, the Party moved towards the socialist revolution of October 1917. Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Bolshevik Party continued to base its activity on the tenets formulated by Lenin.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

XI. The Great October Socialist Revolution— a Turning Point in World History

V. I. Lenin—Leader of the Revolution

At last the day had come, the day Lenin had dreamed of when he had declared, as far back as the 1880s, that it was necessary to choose a different path than that chosen by the Narodnaya Volya organisation, the day that had been foreseen by Lenin's party when it was founded in 1903, the day that had begun to dawn with the revolution of 1905, the day for which the Bolsheviks had worked selflessly for so many years.

"Comrades," wrote Lenin in his historic letter to the CC, "I am writing these lines on the evening of the 24th. The situation is critical in the extreme. In fact it is now absolutely clear that to delay the uprising would be fatal.

"With all my might I urge comrades to realise that everything now hangs by a thread; that we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed people.

"...We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, having first disarmed the officer cadets (defeating them, if they resist), and so on.

"We must not wait! We may lose everything!

"...All districts, all regiments, all forces must be mobilised at once and must immediately send their delegations to the Revolutionary Military Committee and to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks with the insistent demand that under no circumstances should power be left in the hands of Kerensky and Co. until the 25th—not under any circumstances; the matter must be decided without fail this very evening, or this very night.

"History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today (and they certainly will be victorious today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, in fact, they risk losing everything.

"To delay action is fatal."¹

M. V. Fofanova, the owner of the flat where Lenin lived secretly, took the letter to the Vyborg district party committee to be sent to the Central Committee. Lenin did not wait for the reply—history was already being counted not in weeks and hours, but in minutes.

Lenin was directly in charge of the uprising. His letter to the Central Committee, with its plan for an armed uprising and the seizure of power, was put into action by the revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors. By the morning of October 25 (November 7) the bridges over the Neva, the central telephone exchange, the telegraph, the Petrograd telegraph agency, the radio stations, railway terminals, power stations, the State Bank and other major institutions had been occupied by the Red Guards, sailors and soldiers.

"The Provisional Government has been deposed," began the declaration "To the Citizens of Russia!", written by Lenin and published that same morning.

That afternoon an extraordinary session of the Petrograd Soviet was held in the Smolny Institute. Lenin's summary of events was clear, simple and precise: "The workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished."²

On the evening of October 25, the cruiser *Aurora* fired its historic salvo and the successful storming of the Winter Palace, the last bulwark of the Provisional Government, began.

Thus November 7 (October 25) became the day of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On October 26 the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets began.

The first of Lenin's decrees adopted at the congress expressed the aspirations and the will of the overwhelming

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Letter to Central Committee Members", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, pp. 234-35.

² V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, October 25 (November 7), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 239.

majority of the people. The most important of these was the Decree on Peace, which proposed that the peoples and governments of the warring countries immediately begin open negotiations to conclude a peace treaty based on a rejection of annexation and reparations.

The next decree was the Decree on Land, which announced that all private estates would be confiscated without compensation, and that all land was to be transferred to the people. Land became the property of the state.

That same day, October 26, the Second Congress of Soviets established the Council of People's Commissars, led by Lenin.

Thus began a new era in the history of humanity. After the victory in Petrograd, the revolution rapidly emerged victorious in Moscow and throughout the vast territory of Russia. It stimulated the revolutionary and national liberation movement everywhere in the world and indicated the path of revolutionary victory and socialist construction to the proletariat of every country.

The Victory of the October Revolution as a Manifestation of the Laws of History

The experience gained in using Lenin's strategy, the experience gained by the Bolshevik Party in the October Revolution, is of enormous international significance. Learning to use this experience to the full is one of the main tasks of the revolutionary detachments conducting their struggle in the modern world. This experience will be of use only if it has been correctly understood and evaluated, and this is all the more important today since Lenin's revolutionary strategy and the experience of the October Revolution are the centre of an unending ideological struggle.

The argument most widely used by our ideological opponents in their attempt to minimise the significance of the ideas and the cause of the October Revolution is that the October Revolution was an accident of history, the result of serious errors on the part of some (Kornilov, Kerensky, Krasnov, inter alia) and the ability of others (Lenin, the Bolsheviks) to profit from these errors. From this it follows

that the October Revolution was unique and the experience gained cannot be used elsewhere later.

American historian S. Baron, who represents the views of many bourgeois theoreticians, declared that if the Provisional Government had withdrawn from the war and announced a satisfactory land programme, it would be difficult to imagine how the Bolsheviks could have seized power. How simple! But could the bourgeois Provisional Government have done this? Could it have transferred the private estates to the peasants? This would have meant cutting off its own economic power at the very root: 60 per cent of the private estates were mortgaged and remortgaged with capitalist banks. Thus, as Lenin remarked, "confiscation of all private land means the confiscation of hundreds of millions in capital belonging to the banks."¹ And how could the bourgeois Provisional Government withdraw from the war? On the one hand, the Russian bourgeoisie itself had a vested interest in the continuation of the war to its victorious conclusion. For it, war meant military contracts, and, therefore, profit. Victory meant the acquisition of new territories and new markets. On the other hand, its class "friends", the bourgeois countries of the Entente, compelled it to "pour fat onto the fires of war". In addition, the bourgeois government of Russia hoped to use the war as a means of slowing down and weakening the revolutionary process.

It is therefore not accidental but natural that the Provisional Government was unable to solve the problems facing the country. It is quite natural that these problems could only be solved and were solved by the proletariat in alliance with the poorest peasants, since the social nature of the proletariat and its objective class interests fully coincided with the national interest.

Some of our opponents (the more "flexible") do not deny that the October Revolution has a certain natural inevitability, but they consider this experience as valid only for countries of the East, and not countries of the West, which, they allege, have their own, radically different path.

According to the West German historian Hans Raupach,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "From a Publicist's Diary", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 280.

the October Revolution is to be explained not by the general laws of development but rather by the specific characteristics of the development of Russia. In the opinion of the American historian, Theodore von Laue, the Russian revolution is the archetype for revolutions in backward countries.

However, an impartial examination of the facts reveals a different picture. In 1917 Russia, while less advanced than the USA and certain states in Western Europe, was nonetheless a country in which capitalism was reasonably developed and in which it was already entering its monopoly phase. Thus the central and determining force of the revolution was the working class, which was fully justified in putting forward socialist aims. Moreover, wherever the social conflict consisted (or consists) in a conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat it is, as Lenin pointed out, inevitable that the main features of the October Revolution will be repeated. These include: the full transfer of power to the working class; an alliance between the working class and the peasantry and other sections of the working population, with the working class as the dominant partner; the implementation of radical socialist economic transformations resulting in the elimination of private ownership and the formation of new, socialist production relations; the liberation of dependent peoples from colonial and national oppression; adherence to the principle of proletarian internationalism; the merging of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism; a series of measures to establish a people's militia and armed forces so that the revolution can be defended.

It should be noted that this pattern of events can only emerge and develop if guided and directed by a proletarian party.

The Party and the Struggle to Found the Soviet State

A situation of bitter class conflict and internal and external bourgeois counter-revolution meant that the monolithic unity of the Party was a prime necessity. It was essential to ensure that the natural and inevitable differences of opin-

ion on certain issues did not weaken the Party or lead to scission. Sadly, not all were able to withstand the trials of revolutionary struggle. Kamenev, Zinovyev, Rykov and certain others took fright at political responsibility and simply lost their grip in the complex and painful post-revolutionary situation. They preached the establishment of a "homogeneous socialist government" that would include Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries. The Party did not allow itself to be led by the opposition, despite their threats to withdraw. The Party immediately replaced those who withdrew with resolute and consistent revolutionaries.

This consolidation of the Party helped to ensure its success in establishing a new state apparatus, a new, proletarian, power.

In late December 1917, in his own private notes entitled *From a Publicist's Diary*, Lenin wrote, "to raise the very lowest strata to making history . . ."

Raising the very lowest strata to historical creativity was the purpose of the October Revolution, a purpose that lay at the heart of the first measures taken by the Soviet Government.

The first task to be solved was that of drawing the broad masses into the running of the state. "...A state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously."¹

Representatives of the people, of the working masses, moved into the most important sections of state activity. They governed and learned how to govern at the same time. Lenin encouraged them, and also appealed for caution: "Difficulties may crop up at the start, due to inadequate training. But the art of practical government, which has been monopolised by the bourgeoisie, must be mastered."² "We are not utopians," he asserted. "We know that an unskilled labourer or a cook cannot immediately get on with the job of state administration."³ The task of Soviet

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 256.

² *Ibid.*, p. 342.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 113.

power is to create the prerequisites for developing the abilities of the workers, for raising the level of their activity, education and culture.

By drawing millions of representatives of the working class into the running of the state, the revolutionary power became a genuinely proletarian power, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin constantly pointed out that the proletarian power must be able to defend its gains, that the revolution must be able to defend itself, answering the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie with the revolutionary violence of the workers.

With this purpose in view, Soviet people's courts and a workers' militia were established. The All-Russia Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) was formed to fight counter-revolution. The revolutionary army was built on strictly class lines and became the reliable defender of revolutionary gains against internal and external reaction.

The most important objectives facing the young proletarian state immediately after the victory of the revolution were those of reconstruction and organisation, the enormous task of transforming economic and social relations throughout the country.

At first Soviet power nationalised only the banks, transport and large-scale enterprises, which put into its hands the key positions in the economy. Elsewhere changes were limited to the introduction of workers' control, which helped to protect production from capitalist sabotage and ensured uninterrupted operation and continued employment for the workers, and at the same time was a powerful means of mobilising the creative force of the workers and drawing them into the running of the national economy. Workers' control helped to develop the organisational capacities of the masses, increased their ability to construct a new, socialist economy and run production, and the Soviet government increased the number of nationalised enterprises accordingly. Lenin proposed that a national economic centre be established and this was done with the founding of the Supreme Economic Council.

The Economic Programme of the Revolution

The Party now faced the task of determining the course to be pursued in developing the socialist economy and of elaborating the principles and forms of participation by the broad working masses in this development.

Having examined events on the international scene and within the country, Lenin directed the Party and the people towards a programme that allowed for a situation in which socialism would exist for a more or less lengthy period of time in one country alone, surrounded by capitalist countries.

"We, the Bolshevik Party," wrote Lenin in his work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (April 1918), "have convinced Russia. We have won Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the working people. Now we must administer Russia. And the whole peculiarity of the present situation, the whole difficulty, lies in understanding the specific features of the transition from the principal task of convincing the people and of suppressing the exploiters by armed force to the principal task of administration."¹ Further explaining the essence of this transition, Lenin wrote: "Up to now measures for the direct expropriation of the expropriators were in the forefront. Now the organisation of accounting and control in those enterprises in which the capitalists have already been expropriated, and in all other enterprises advances to the forefront."²

The objective of perfecting the system of accounting and control over the forms of economic management and of raising productivity requires the appropriate conditions and methods. For Lenin, this meant "the raising of the educational and cultural level of the mass of the population", "the raising of the working people's discipline, their skill, the effectiveness, the intensity of labour and its better organisation".³

Lenin put forward the organisation of competition as the best means of achieving these ends. In his opinion, competition was not only a means of raising productivity, but

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 242.

² *Ibid.*, p. 246.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258.

also a means of teaching the workers how to run the economy by enabling them to understand the role of their labour in the economy of the country as a whole, and thus enabling them to take a wider, a state-orientated view of affairs. Competition operates like a school in which everyone, on the basis of publicity and a business-like approach, has the opportunity to learn from leading workers and the best examples of the organisation of labour. Here the workers are actually drawn into collective activity directed at transforming social relations. It is a school of socialist collectivism, providing cultural, moral and political education, a school that trains new, proletarian specialists. This was the wide-ranging and forward-looking approach to the question of competition.

Lenin's plan for organising socialist competition involved one other important factor that reflected the specific conditions of that period. Speaking of the necessity of organising matters in such a way "that the *comparison of the business results* of the various communes may become a matter of general interest and study", Lenin instructed that "...the most outstanding communes may be rewarded immediately (by reducing the working day, raising remuneration, placing a larger amount of cultural or aesthetic facilities or values at their disposal, etc.)".¹ Here one can clearly see the principle of a material interest in labour.

Another means of fulfilling the objectives set by the state was, in Lenin's opinion, the use of bourgeois specialists for building socialist economy, the use of their experience, ability and knowledge supervised by proletarian power and in the interests of the new, socialist society. This was only possible with high remuneration for this experience and knowledge. "Now we have to resort," commented Lenin, "to the old bourgeois method and to agree to pay a very high price for the 'services' of the top bourgeois experts."² Lenin considered this to be a retreat, a step backwards, but a step that had to be taken to preserve the power of the working class, to gather strength and then prepare a new offensive. "...By directing the bourgeois elements, uti-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

lising them, making certain partial concessions to them, we create the conditions for further progress that will be slower than we at first anticipated, but surer, with the base and lines of communication better secured and with the positions which have been won better consolidated."¹

The implementation of the economic strategy laid down by Lenin in *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* was prevented by the intervention of the capitalist states against the Soviet Republic in the spring of 1918, and the civil war unleashed by Russian capitalists and landowners. Special measures had to be taken to counter the menacing military situation. These measures were to be known as "war communism". Among the most important of these measures was the surplus food appropriation system, according to which the peasant supplied fixed quotas of grain and fodder to the state. The decree on surplus food appropriation was adopted in January 1919, and worker food detachments were sent out into the villages to ensure its implementation. This measure determined the economic policy of the Party in the countryside throughout the civil war.

The principles for constructing a socialist economy and state put forward by Lenin in his work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* served as the basis for the policy pursued by the Party after the civil war and are of truly world-historic significance.

The Revolution and the Strategy of Peaceful Coexistence

That the first act of the Soviet Government should be the adoption by the Congress of Soviets of the Decree on Peace, put before it by Lenin on November 8 (October 26), 1917, is highly symbolic. The Decree declared war to be "the greatest of crimes against humanity" and solemnly proclaimed the resolute desire to sign immediately a treaty of peace on conditions equitable for all, without annexations or reparations. The people, having taken power into their hands, were above all beginning a struggle for peace, inspiring all mankind by their example.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Western bourgeois scholars love to discuss the "price" of the October Revolution. They quote the number of those who fell in the civil war and in the war of the Russian people against foreign intervention, and conclude that the revolution cost too many lives, that the price was too high, and therefore it would have been better to have no revolution.

These political "book-keepers" of the bourgeoisie are poor and inaccurate accountants. First they should remember that the October Revolution was virtually bloodless. The blood started to flow when internal and external counter-revolution unleashed war against the Republic of Soviets. Let them calculate how many lives (and Russian lives first and foremost) had been taken by the old world, against which the October Revolution was directed; the first world war alone, that logical culmination of the development of the old world, swept away ten million lives. The October Revolution was directed at preventing the repetition of such an evil.

They count the "lives lost in the war against foreign intervention". Then let the bourgeois theoreticians ask their political and military leaders why they decided to raise the "cost" of the October Revolution by sending armoured trains, cannons and soldiers?

The struggle for peace is the policy being pursued by the proletarian state and the Marxist-Leninist party. It is a particularly striking illustration of the fact that the class interests of the proletariat correspond to the genuine interests of mankind, to the interests of all the working people of the world.

Marxists-Leninists resolutely expose the adventurist arguments of the left-wing revisionists to the effect that such a policy hampers the class revolutionary struggle throughout the world. Lenin repeatedly criticised such views.

Insofar as the country of socialism will be surrounded by capitalist countries for a certain period of time, it is in the interests of the workers of the world that there should be peaceful coexistence rather than armed confrontation.

The so-called left-wing Communists strongly opposed this Leninist strategy, asserting that peace between socialism and capitalism leads to a softening of crisis situations and to the weakening of the class struggle. Thus, when, on

February 3, 1918, a conference of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party discussed the question "Is peace at all possible between socialist and imperialist states?" and "Are economic agreements between socialist and imperialist states permissible?", the leaders of the "left" (Osinsky, Stukov and others) replied in the negative. Bukharin also opposed the concept of peaceful coexistence at the Seventh Party Congress; this idea, he declared, is utopian, a pious hope.

Bukharin lost sight of one simple fact: peaceful coexistence is not to be requested from the capitalists but imposed upon them. This Leninist proposition was confirmed by the whole subsequent course of human history. Today peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is an actual fact. Moreover, it is a specific form of class struggle between capitalism and socialism. Peaceful coexistence creates favourable conditions for the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and eases the liberation struggle of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries.

The World-Historic Significance of the October Revolution

"The prehistory of human society accordingly closes with this (bourgeois—*Ed.*) social formation",¹ wrote Marx prophetically. The true history of man begins with the victory of the socialist revolution, which eliminates private property, exploitation and the crippling social division of labour, allowing men's as yet undisclosed abilities to develop. The achievement of this exploit of human emancipation is the task allotted to the working class. That the fall of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable² was the prophetic declaration of the founders of scientific socialism.

The October Revolution was the fulfilment of this prophecy. "An epoch-making change has been made," wrote

¹ K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, p. 22.

² See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 496.

Lenin. "The era of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism has come to an end. A new chapter in world history—the era of the proletarian dictatorship—has been opened."¹

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution a new social system was born. The October Revolution was the most palpable and irrefutable evidence of the profound truth of *Marxism-Leninism, a turning point in the history of mankind*. Russia showed in practice that the proletariat, allied with the working masses and led by the Marxist-Leninist party, was able to overthrow the political power of the bourgeoisie and establish its own power. This was an inspiring example for the working class of the world, and in this Lenin saw the world-historic significance of the October Revolution.

Further analysing the international significance of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin revealed both the force of its impact on every country throughout the world and also stressed that the repetition of the main features of the revolution on an international scale was a historical inevitability.

In what does this influence chiefly consist, and what are the main features that must inevitably be repeated?

First of all, the victory of the October Revolution caused a radical change in the world social structure: the world was divided into two opposing parts. This allowed the international working class to move forward in its revolutionary struggle by providing it with a solid and reliable base—the rapidly developing country of socialism. Communist parties appeared in the capitalist countries and united together in the Communist International, the leader of the international revolutionary proletariat. The main task facing the communist parties at that time was to avert intervention against the country of Soviets, strengthen party ranks and prepare the masses for revolution.

The October Revolution had a tremendous impact upon the national liberation movement among the oppressed peoples of colonial and dependent countries. An important law was discovered: this movement could only achieve genuine

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 112.

and stable success if supported by the international proletariat, "...only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism".¹ In this new situation, at a time when the national liberation movement was gathering momentum, Lenin formulated two major theoretical propositions: the necessity of international unity and close co-operation among all revolutionary movements, and the possibility of the backward countries moving to socialism bypassing capitalism. With the help of the victorious proletariat in other countries, Lenin declared, the backward countries can pass "through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage".²

The October Revolution has certain essential features whose repetition is inevitable in any socialist revolution.

The October Revolution solved the problems of the country in which it occurred, but these were problems created by the social development of the whole of mankind. The October Revolution cleared the way for their solution, and also, therefore, for the creation of a new type of civilisation.

The October Revolution put an end to the exploitation of man by man, eliminated private ownership of the means of production, replaced economic anarchy with a scientifically planned economy and inaugurated social equality.

The October Revolution also enriched mankind with the experience of intellectual and cultural emancipation. The cultural revolution was the natural continuation in our country of the economic and political revolution.

The October Revolution also brought with it an answer to one of the most painful and dramatic questions of human history—the nationalities question. For the first time the peoples of former tsarist Russia had the opportunity to make a historic choice and acquired the right to determine their own destiny.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 151.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 244.

The October Revolution pointed the way to socialism for all mankind. Every country that adopts to go this way solves its own problems while nonetheless repeating the features inherent to socialist transformation.

"The sum total of experience in the development of world socialism provides convincing evidence, among other things, of the following:

"the question of power continues to be the main issue in a revolution. It is either the power of the working class, acting in alliance with all the working people, or the power of the bourgeoisie. There is no third possibility;

"transition to socialism is possible only if the working class and its allies, having gained real political power, use it to end the socio-economic domination of capitalist and other exploiters;

"socialism can be victorious only if the working class and its vanguard, the Communists, are able to inspire and unite the working people as a whole in the struggle to build the new society, to transform the economy and all social relations along socialist lines;

"socialism can consolidate its position only if the working people's power is capable of defending the revolution against any attacks by the class enemy (and such attacks are inevitable, both internal and, most of all, external)".¹

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress. Report at jubilee meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, November 2, 1977*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, p. 19.

XII. Lenin's Plan for Building Socialism in the USSR

The New Economic Policy

The main objectives and ways of socialist construction were elaborated by Lenin prior to the revolution, in such works as *The State and Revolution*, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* and others.

Following the revolution, in works such as *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* and others, Lenin developed and clarified his earlier propositions in the context of the new situation and the new prospects it offered.

Foreign intervention and civil war obliged the Party and its leader to pay great attention to the armed defence of the socialist revolution and the adaptation of its economic policy to the demands of war. In 1920, when the main counter-revolutionary forces were virtually defeated, Lenin switched his party and state activity to the organisation of socialist construction. His plan for building socialism in the Soviet country becomes more detailed, more comprehensive, more concrete, serving as the guide to action for the Bolshevik Party and the entire nation.

From the beginning of 1921, the Soviet Republic was increasingly engaged in peaceful economic activity, and it became clear that the policies of "war communism" were not appropriate for peace time. The levelling of pay rates was seriously hampering productivity and it was necessary to make use of material incentives. However, it should be noted that, while drawing the Party's attention to the need to use economic methods, Lenin in no way discarded the enthusiasm of the masses, born of the revolution and devel-

oped during the period of "war communism". The new economic policy (NEP), giving due attention to the principle of material incentives, brought about a radical change in relations both in the town and the village. Moreover, strengthening the economic and, therefore, the political alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the town and the village, was the central aim, or, to quote Lenin, *the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. The aim was that the peasant should be *economically* interested in developing his farm and increasing production. The system of surplus appropriation that operated under "war communism" led, as Lenin noted, to a situation in which "the petty farmer loses interest in consolidating and developing his activity and in increasing his output, all of which leaves us without an economic basis".¹

On February 8, 1921, the Politbureau adopted Lenin's plan that provided for: (1) the substitution of a tax in kind for the surplus appropriations; (2) a reduction in the size of this tax as compared with the appropriation rate; (3) a tax commensurate with the farmer's effort, reducing the rate for those making the greater effort; (4) the peasant using his after-tax surplus in local trade.² Under the new economic policy this fixed tax in kind, significantly less than the appropriation rate, and leaving the peasant a certain surplus for trade, served as a powerful stimulant in increasing production. This increase made itself felt throughout the economy. The increase in agricultural productivity made it possible to reconstruct and develop state industry, particularly heavy industry. Socialism strengthened and the basis was created for the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The delegates to the Tenth Congress of the RCP(B), which took place in March 1921, unanimously approved Lenin's plan for the transition to the new economic policy. The decision of the congress was given legislative expression in a decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, issued on March 23, 1921.

Transition to the tax in kind lessened considerably the

discontent of a large section of peasants. Whereas at the beginning of 1921, during the period of appropriation, Lenin had noted "discontent among an enormous number of peasants", following the introduction of the new economic policy he declared: "The peasants are satisfied with their present position. We can confidently assert that."¹ The state also benefited from this improvement in the mood of the peasants. In 1923, after the consequences of famine had been finally dealt with, the sown areas increased and the supply of agricultural products to the towns improved.

However, the revival of peasant agriculture and the accumulation of surplus produce stimulated the development of trade. In turn, the growth of market relations led to a situation in which considerable resources began to accumulate in private hands. Rich peasants came back to the scene. In the towns tens of thousands of small-scale private enterprises mushroomed—shops, restaurants, stalls and kiosks. By the beginning of 1923, 83.3 per cent of retail trade was in private hands.

Lenin pinpointed one irrefutable fact: "Capitalism will emerge wherever there is small enterprise and free exchange."² The appearance of capitalist elements was, naturally, no surprise to the Bolshevik Party. It had expected this result, and therefore had called the new economic policy a "retreat". However, the "regulating mechanism" by which private property relations could be limited was firmly in the hands of the proletarian state. "Are we to be afraid of it, if we have control of the factories, transport and foreign trade?" asked Lenin, and answered: "Let me repeat what I said then: I believe it to be incontrovertible that we need have no fear of this capitalism."³

There is no need to fear this capitalism because the commanding political heights are in the hands of the working class, led by a Communist Party experienced in class and ideological battle. There is no need to fear it because all the basic means of production are in the hands of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 424.

² V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Tax in Kind Delivered at a Meeting of Secretaries and Responsible Representatives of R.C.P.(B.) Cells of Moscow and Moscow Gubernia. April 9, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 296.

³ *Ibid.*

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Tenth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 411.

² See V. I. Lenin, "Rough Draft of Theses Concerning the Peasants", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 133.

working class. There is no need to fear it because the socialist sector grew speedily and came to dominate the economy of the country.

These factors constitute the essence of the new economic policy, which makes use of the material possibilities, organisational experience, energy and initiative of private owners under the control of the proletarian state in order to revive the economic life of the country after imperialist and civil wars, and also in order to strengthen and develop the alliance of the working class and the peasantry with a view to promoting the rapid advance of the socialist sector of the economy. The new economic policy is a form of the temporary coexistence within the national economy of opposing economic systems, a form of struggle between socialist and capitalist elements ensuring the maximum development and final victory of the socialist sector.

However, this victory could not come of its own accord. The Party directed the whole of its activity to ensuring this victory through the unity and solidarity of its ranks, the strengthening of the proletarian state and the development of the socialist basis in the economy.

The Unity of the Party as an Essential Condition of Socialist Construction

The new economic policy created the conditions necessary for the rapid and stable development of industry. However, it was essential to determine how best to make use of these conditions, how best to develop industry and what course the Party should take as regards industrialisation in order to ensure the steady growth of the socialist sector and of the size, organisation, awareness and power of the working class. All this was essential in order to control and limit private property.

On the question of industrialisation, Trotsky (who fully supported the left-wing Communists led by Bukharin) proposed the policy of "tightening the screws". He considered it essential, therefore, that the trade unions should merge with the controlling economic and state apparatus and become the organs of command.

The discussion on trade unions, launched by the Trotskyites and the so-called Workers' Opposition involved not only the forms and means of worker participation in the development of industry but, and far more importantly, the principle of the approach to be adopted towards the working masses by the Party and the proletarian state.

Trotsky placed the emphasis on compulsion from the top downwards, converting the masses into mere instruments. The other extreme was represented by the Workers' Opposition (led by Shlyapnikov, Kollontai and Kutuzov), who proposed to end the involvement of state organs in the economic life of the country and transfer all control over industry to the trade unions, to the "All-Russia Congress of Producers". The slogans of the Workers' Opposition turned out, in effect, to be a call for taking away control over the economic life of the country from the Party which had clearly demonstrated its decisive and guiding role in the whole activity of the Soviet Republic.

Lenin resolutely opposed both tendencies. His approach, supported by the Tenth Congress of the RCP(B), consisted of the following: (1) retention by the Party of the leading role in economic construction; (2) rejection of dictatorial methods in mass organisations; (3) the utmost development of these organisations as a training ground for the working masses in the practical running of the economy. It was then that the now famous slogan "The trade unions are the school of communism" first began to spread.

Having settled this issue in principle, the congress turned its attention to the manner in which the pre-congress discussions had taken place. At a difficult moment in its history, the Party had been drawn by Trotsky and the Workers' Opposition into a discussion that lasted for several months which was not only an inadmissible luxury at that moment but, given the difficulties facing the new economic policy and widespread discontent among the petty bourgeoisie, presented a serious threat to Soviet power. In the course of the discussion, factions arose with their own individual policies, isolation and group discipline, threatening to weaken and even split the Party. In view of the urgency of the situation, Lenin put before the Tenth Congress a special resolution entitled "On the Unity of the Party" which declared: "The Congress instructs that all

groups, without exception, that have formed on one or another policy platform immediately disband, and orders all organisations to vigilantly guard against any factional activity. Failure to obey this resolution of the Congress will result in unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party."

It must be noted that the resolution "On the Unity of the Party" in no way prohibited debate or impeded criticism and self-criticism, as opponents of Leninism allege. On the contrary, the resolution demanded that constructive criticism be actively encouraged. Rather the resolution saw debate and criticism of miscalculations and errors as a means of developing and improving the Party's policies and consolidating its ranks, and not as an activity leading to the destruction of its unity. Only thus, drawing strength from its collective wisdom and solidarity of its members, was the Party able to lead the country towards socialism in the first difficult years of Soviet power.

GOELRO—the Programme for Building the Material Basis of Socialism

The essence of the Party's economic policy at the period was to subordinate all economic relations, including the market relations that had lately arisen, to one state plan. The planned development of the economy on a nation-wide scale was carried through in the interests of the whole people, this being one of the main and essential characteristics of socialism.

The Bolshevik Party had started work on the plan to develop the material base of socialism as early as 1920, on the instructions of Lenin. At the Third Congress of the Communist International Lenin had spoken of the main objectives of this plan: "A large-scale machine industry capable of reorganising agriculture is the only material basis that is possible for socialism... Large-scale industry based on the latest achievements of technology and capable of reorganising agriculture implies the electrification of the whole country."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Third Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 459.

In pointing to large-scale machine industry based on electrification, Lenin had indicated the central feature of the state plan, and it is therefore clear why Lenin and the leadership of the Bolshevik Party placed such importance on developing the plan for the electrification of the entire country (GOELRO). Hence also the profound significance of Lenin's famous formula: "*Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.*"¹ Lenin wrote: "If we have electrification within 10 to 20 years, there is nothing to fear from the individualism of the small farmer and his unrestricted trade in local exchange. If we have no electrification, a return to capitalism is inevitable in any case."²

Following Lenin's ideas, the 14th Congress of the Party, which took place in December 1925, after Lenin's death, elaborated a comprehensive programme for industrialising the whole country.

The Last Works of Lenin on the Main Tasks of Socialist Construction

The enormous burden of work caused a progressive deterioration in Lenin's state of health. On December 7, 1922, at the insistence of his doctors, he left to rest for a few days in Gorki. However, this "rest" differed little from his intense work at the Kremlin. He drew up the plan for his report to the forthcoming Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, his attention focussing among other things on co-operation and the state apparatus, and he also dictated the drafts of important state and party decisions.

On December 12, Lenin returned to Moscow. It was to be his last day of working in his study in the Kremlin. On the morning of December 13, he suffered two attacks. "It was only with greatest difficulty," reads the medical report, "that Vladimir Ilyich was persuaded not to speak at any meetings and to refrain from all work for the present."

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 546.

² V. I. Lenin, "Plan of the Pamphlet *The Tax in Kind*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 323.

He finally consented and said that today he would begin to wind up all his affairs."

On the evening of December 15, in a letter to the members of the Central Committee, Lenin wrote: "I have now finished winding up my affairs and can leave with my mind at peace." That night he suffered another severe attack that lasted over half an hour. In the days that followed his condition grew worse.

On December 23, Lenin asked his doctor for permission to dictate to his secretary for five minutes, as one issue was troubling him and he feared he would not be able to sleep. He sent for M. A. Volodicheva to dictate her a letter to the congress. This was the first part of his famous "Letter to the Congress". The next day he expressed the desire to continue with the dictation of what he called his "diary".

This diary became, in effect, Lenin's political testament. It included his "Letter to the Congress", "Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission", "Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'", "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-operation", "Our Revolution (Appropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes)", "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Recommendation to the Twelfth Party Congress)", and "Better Fewer, but Better".

Lenin's testament is a summary of the experience accumulated during the enormous reconstruction carried out after the October Revolution, the clear-cut guidelines for socialist construction in the USSR, and a strategic plan for the development of the world-wide liberation movement.

Below are the main propositions contained in these works.

The country of the Soviets has all that is necessary and in sufficient quantity for the building of a socialist society.

It is precisely this thesis that has been most disputed by the opponents of Leninism. On the eve of the Revolution, Plekhanov wrote in the newspaper *Yedinstvo* (Unity) that Russia "was not sufficiently developed for socialism", that it lacked "the objective economic prerequisites" for socialist construction and that, therefore, "the main problem of the day was developing the productive forces on the capitalist basis".

And now, in January 1923, five years after the victory of the October Revolution Lenin reads the same evaluation of the possibility of constructing socialism in Russia in the recently published notes of N. Sukhanov. His objection was sharp and decisive. He did not deny that the level of development of the productive forces in Russia was insufficient to permit the immediate creation of a socialist society. He also did not dispute that the creation of socialism required a cultural level not yet attained by the majority of the workers in Russia. What he disputed was that these prerequisites must, as the Mensheviks hold, always and everywhere be created on a capitalist basis, under a bourgeois state system.

In Russia, Lenin argued, it was possible "to create the fundamental requisites of civilisation in a different way from that of the West-European countries".¹ The basis of the creation of this civilisation is the formation of worker and peasant power and the Soviet system. "... Why could we not first create such prerequisites of civilisation in our country as the expulsion of the landowners and the Russian capitalists and then start moving towards socialism? Where, in what books, have you read that such variations of the customary historical sequence of events are impermissible or impossible?"²

Events, practice, have revealed the correctness of Lenin's proposition. The Soviet state has "all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society",³ political power in the hands of the working class and a level of economic development sufficiently high for moving towards socialism, having as a guide a carefully tested political strategy. In his last works, Lenin indicated the main stages, the main directions of this movement: industrialisation, the co-operation of the peasants, the cultural revolution, the strengthening and improvement of the proletarian state, the increased role of the Communist Party as the guiding force in Soviet society.

The Plan for the Industrialisation of the Country. "Better Fewer, but Better" was the last article written by Lenin. He dictated it on March 2, 1923. Symbolically, the last

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 478.

² *Ibid.*, p. 480.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

paragraph of this last article opens with words addressed to the future: "These are the lofty tasks that I dream of..."

The last work written by Lenin is a noble and beautiful dream. It is also a particular type of dream, typical of Lenin, that is, one that does not build castles in the air, but is rooted in reality, perceiving its basic tendencies and developing them, following their logic into the future.

Such noble yet realistic dreams accompanied all of Lenin's activity and he bequeathed them to those who shared his beliefs, to his party colleagues. The GOELRO plan, developed by the Party on Lenin's suggestion, was just such a dream, as was also his plan for industrialisation.

Lenin linked organically the task of developing large-scale machine industry and the task of preserving the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry on a socialist basis. For this reason, Lenin elaborated a policy for expanding the socialist elements in the village and indicated the path to socialism for the peasants. These ideas are most fully expressed in his work "On Co-operation".

The Co-operative Plan for Reconstructing the Life of the Peasantry on a Socialist Basis. The country of Soviets faced a serious problem: how to transform a scattered, individual peasant agriculture into a large-scale, collectivised agriculture based on large farms and enterprises? Lenin replied that it was necessary to accustom the peasant to collective, co-operative principles of work in one form or another. Co-operative forms of activity should be developed. Co-operative labour is, of course, still not socialised labour. It occupies the middle position between the private, and the socialised. Its advantage lies in the fact that, by combining the personal interest of the peasant with the collective interest of all the members of the co-operative, it allows the peasant to become gradually accustomed to collective forms of labour and to master them. For this reason, co-operation is, for the peasant, a simple, accessible form of the transition to collective, socialised production. "If the whole peasantry had been organised in co-operatives," wrote Lenin, "we would by now have been standing with both feet on the soil of socialism."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On Co-operation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 474.

Lenin saw all-round support for co-operation as one of the main tasks of the socialist state. He wrote: "... A number of economic, financial and banking privileges must be granted to the co-operatives—this is the way our socialist state must promote the new principle on which the population must be organised." Hence the conclusion: "And given social ownership of the means of production, given the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the system of civilised co-operators is the system of socialism."¹ In his last article, "On Co-operation", he elaborated his programme for the development of co-operation among the rural population as the basic means of moving towards socialism in an agrarian country. Lenin also underlined that industrialisation and co-operation were linked to two further tasks. The first is "to reorganise our machinery of state", and the second is the cultural revolution. "But the organisation of the entire peasantry in co-operative societies," Lenin emphasised, "cannot, in fact, be achieved without a cultural revolution."²

Improving the Apparatus of the Proletarian State. In the "Letter to the Congress", "How We Should Reorganise Workers' and Peasants' Inspection", and "Better Fewer, but Better", Lenin laid down a number of measures to reorganise and improve the existing apparatus of government, and in particular its leading organs. First "to do a thorough job of improving our administrative machinery and to prevent conflicts between small sections of the C.C. from acquiring excessive importance for the future of the Party". Lenin proposed "an increase in the number of Central Committee members to a few dozen or even a hundred".³ Although this is important, it is only the quantitative aspect of the improvement of the structure of the Central Committee. The other aspect is its qualitative improvement: from which social strata and groups should this increase come? The answer is precise—from experienced workers.

Lenin indicated another important instrument to be used by the Central Committee in its activity and whose tasks

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

² *Ibid.*, p. 474.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 593.

were to include a systematic improvement of the state apparatus. This is a party-state organ created by merging the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The new organ would thus combine the revolutionary enthusiasm and determination of the workers with the experience and knowledge of specialists qualified in administration. Lenin suggested that the new organ have 300 to 500 members, closely linked to the working masses on the one hand, and to a network of institutes researching into administration and labour organisation on the other. Such an organ could then undertake the exceptionally important and responsible task of controlling the work of all states and party organs without exception, from the highest to the lowest, and could also organise theoretical research into the operation of the state apparatus. Lenin considered the education of a new type of administrator to be as important as reorganisation. In his opinion, these new administrators must be men "for whom we can vouch that they will not take the word for the deed, and will not utter a single word that goes against their conscience", they "should not shrink from admitting any difficulty and should not shrink from any struggle in order to achieve the object they have seriously set themselves".¹ As important as a high level of professionalism and knowledge are such qualities as general culture and education, consideration for others, the ability to come into contact with people, politeness and avoidance of administration by mere injunction. Such qualities are by no means "trifles", as Lenin repeatedly pointed out in his "Letter to the Congress".

The Cultural Revolution. Lenin constantly emphasised that the above tasks necessary for the building of socialism could not be carried through without a cultural revolution. "Strictly speaking," wrote Lenin in his work "On Co-operation", "there is 'only' one thing we have left to do, and that is to make our people so 'enlightened' that they understand all the advantages of everybody participating in the work of the co-operatives, and organise this participation."² The conclusions are of enormous theoretical and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Better Fewer, but Better", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 489.

² V. I. Lenin, "On Co-operation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 469-70.

practical significance. "But the organisation of the entire peasantry in co-operative societies ... cannot, in fact, be achieved without a cultural revolution"; "in our country the political and social revolution preceded the cultural revolution, that very cultural revolution which nevertheless now confronts us".¹

According to Lenin, one of the major tasks of the cultural revolution is to ensure that the broad masses of the people get acquainted with everything of value in bourgeois culture so that it can be used in the interests of socialism and in the interests of the final victory of the revolution. "... Capitalism," wrote Lenin, "provides culture only for the minority. We must build socialism out of this culture, we have no other material." He continued, "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society."²

Communism must take up and develop all the cultural wealth that mankind has accumulated down the centuries. Hence the famous words from Lenin's speech "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues": "You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind."³ Hence Lenin's famous slogan "Study!"

This slogan, which is so popular today, sounded strange for the youth of the twenties when the youth and many others believed that they, the victors in the great battle with the exploiters, have nothing to learn from the old culture.

Lenin stressed that the Communist can only build a communist society on the basis of a modern education. Without the latter, communism will remain merely a pious wish.⁴ Following the path indicated by Lenin, the working masses, led by the Party, mastered the cultural wealth

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 474, 475.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 70.

³ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 287.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90.

created by the past generations, created a people's intelligentsia and became involved in cultural creativity.

Strengthening the Friendship of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. The question of establishing a multinational Soviet state and the nature of the relations and links between its nations was always at the centre of Lenin's thoughts. He believed that only the closest possible alliance of the Soviet republics could guarantee their survival while surrounded by capitalist states, restore the productive forces that had been ruined by imperialism and ensure the material well-being of the workers. Such an alliance would make it possible to establish one socialist economy developing according to a common plan.¹ A well-considered, skilful solution of the nationalities question in the country of Soviets was all the more essential as it would be of truly world-historic importance.

Lenin consistently applied and defended the principle of the rights of nations to self-determination. He resolutely opposed the idea of "autonomisation", according to which the independent Soviet republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia were to be included within the RSFSR. Lenin saw this as a violation of national equality. In a letter to the members of the Politbureau, dated October 26, 1922, he stressed that the independent Soviet republics were not entering the Russian Federation but uniting with the RSFSR in a new state formation. Lenin proposed the creation of a single socialist state on the basis of the voluntary unification of equal and independent Soviet republics. Thus a new type of multinational state emerged, based on the voluntary union of equal and sovereign nations and on the principles of socialist internationalism.

The Party and the peoples of the country of Soviets warmly supported Lenin's ideas regarding the Soviet state, and the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, held on December 30, 1922, proclaimed the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Illness prevented Lenin from attending, but the entire work of the congress and its adoption of the Declaration and the Union Treaty on the for-

¹ See V. I. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147.

mation of the USSR were precisely in the spirit of his ideas and instructions.

The above are the main points of Lenin's plan for building a socialist society. The prerequisites for its fulfilment Lenin named as, first and foremost, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry (with the working class taking the leading role), the indissoluble friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, the development of the Soviet state ensuring the broad masses of the people the highest level of democracy, creativity and the opportunity to make their own history, and the increasing guidance and leadership of the Communist Party.

"We need to take the right direction," declared Lenin on November 20, 1922, at a plenary meeting of the Moscow Soviet, making what was to be his last speech, "we need to see that everything is checked, that the masses, the entire population, check the path we follow and say: 'Yes, this is better than the old system.' That is the task we have set ourselves. Our Party, a little group of people in comparison with the country's total population, has tackled this job. This tiny nucleus has set itself the task of re-making everything, and it will do so. We have proved that this is no utopia but a cause which people live by."¹ The ending was significant: "...Difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and numerous as the difficulties may be that it entails, we shall all—not in a day, but in a few years—all of us together fulfil it whatever the cost, so that NEP Russia will become socialist Russia."²

Lenin died on January 21, 1924, at 6:50 p.m. Enormous stress and constant work had cut short his life.

Time has revealed Lenin's greatness and the creative force of his ideas. The life of Lenin was an exploit, a life spent in creative thought and tireless revolutionary activity, in ideological and political battles. The life of Lenin merged with the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party.

Following in the footsteps of Marx and Engels, Lenin was a politician of a new type; a great scholar of revolu-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Plenary Session of the Moscow Soviet, November 20, 1922", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 442.

² *Ibid.*, p. 443.

tion who caused a revolution in thought. He creatively developed Marxism in every direction—in philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. He united revolutionary theory and the working-class movement. Under his leadership, a radical change took place in world history, inaugurating the age of the actual construction of a new society free from exploitation and oppression, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Great Achievement of the Soviet People

This is the graphic yet precise description given by Leonid Brezhnev of the building of socialism in the USSR. It is a well-known fact that the people of the Soviet Union had to realise Lenin's plan for the building of socialism, a plan that covered all the main spheres of social life, in exceptionally difficult circumstances, surrounded by hostile capitalist states. They had to deal with the legacy of tsarism, with an economy almost completely ruined by imperialist war, civil war and intervention. Industry had suffered badly, and three quarters of the population were illiterate.

Despite these difficulties, Lenin's Party was firm and resolute in reconstructing and rapidly developing the economy. The land, the factories and the banks were now the property of the people, which called forth unprecedented labour enthusiasm on the part of the working people. However, they now had to learn to be the masters, learn how to manage the economy.

The Party carried through Lenin's plan for the electrification of Russia, industrialisation and the mechanisation of agriculture. Enormous new economic projects were completed. By 1927, industrial production exceeded the prewar level and the country moved on to long-term planning based on five-year plans. However, the building of socialism required more than a powerful industrial base. Guided by Lenin's plan for the setting up of peasant co-operatives, the Party adopted the policy of the collectivisation of agriculture.

In the young country of Soviets there appeared not only a new industry and new social relations but also the new

type of man. The cultural revolution proceeded at a rapid pace. Thousands upon thousands of enthusiasts joined in the campaign to eliminate illiteracy. A network of institutes, universities and factory schools arose. The transformation of the former semi-colonial peripheral regions of Russia was particularly rapid. Here the socialist nations grew in strength and developed their national cultures.

With the completion of collectivisation in the middle of the 1930s, the last vestiges of the exploiter classes disappeared, removing the possibility of the restoration of capitalism, and securing the foundations of socialism. This meant that *the transitional period from capitalism to socialism had ended and a socialist society had been built* that now had to develop and improve in every direction.

The treacherous attack by nazi Germany interrupted the peaceful work of the Soviet people. In a long war, the most painful in human history, the Soviet people achieved a feat without parallel. Not only did they defend their own freedom and independence, but also made a decisive contribution to saving mankind from nazism.

Next came the difficult and tense postwar years of cold war and atomic blackmail. During these years the shattered economy was once more restored and new targets reached in social, economic, scientific and technological development.

The building of socialism signified a radical change in the social structure of society. The exploiter classes disappeared. With every year the alliance of the working class, the collectivised peasants and the new socialist intelligentsia grew in strength. Such ills as famine, poverty, exploitation, unemployment and illiteracy, typical of capitalist society, were eliminated once and for all. For the working people socialism threw open the doors to knowledge and culture, and created unlimited possibilities for the development of science, putting it to the service of the people. What had once been only a dream—the equality, brotherhood and indissoluble, multinational unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union—had become a fact.

The experience of building socialism fully confirmed the belief of the founders of scientific communism, namely, that the destruction of the old world, the suppression of the opposition of the exploiter classes and the building of a new

society can be achieved by the working people only if they are led by the Communist Party and only by using the powerful weapon of the proletarian state.

The achievements of the motherland of the October Revolution are convincing evidence of the fact that socialism has secured an unprecedented rate of progress in all spheres of social life. The fact that under socialism the people are themselves the masters of their destiny and build their own happiness has given rise to unparalleled driving forces of social progress unknown in any other social system. This is shown by economic development in the USSR. Over the last quarter of a century, the main branches of the Soviet economy have developed 2-3 times more rapidly than those of the US economy—the leading capitalist power.

The whole history of the Soviet Union is striking proof of Lenin's prophecy that "...only socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority*, and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life".¹

The major achievement of the selfless work of the Soviet people was the building of a *developed socialist society*.

Questions on Part Two

- (1) How were the revolutionary ideas of Lenin formed?
- (2) What points did Lenin criticise in the Narodnik movement and legal Marxism?
- (3) Describe Lenin's plan for founding a new type of party and the practical implementation of that plan.
- (4) What are Leninist organisational principles and the norms of party life?
- (5) Why was the founding of the Bolshevik Party a new stage in the Russian and international workers' movement?
- (6) What was Lenin's definition of the main characteristics and distinguishing features of imperialism?
- (7) What is the essence of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution?

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 477.

(8) What are the specific features of a socialist state and what are the ways in which it differs radically from a bourgeois state?

(9) Describe the leading and guiding role of the Party in the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of Soviet power throughout the country.

(10) What is the world-historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution?

(11) Describe Lenin as the founder of the Soviet state.

(12) Describe the essence and significance of the Party's new economic policy.

(13) What is the basic content of Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR?

Part three

THE LENINIST POLICY OF THE CPSU FOR BUILDING COMMUNISM

XIII. Lenin's Ideas Realised in the Building of Developed Socialism in the USSR

Developed Socialism as a Natural Stage on the Path to Communism

In 1967, in his speech to mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leonid Brezhnev declared that a developed socialist society had been built in the Soviet Union. This means that the economic, scientific and technological potential of the Soviet Union is greater than ever before. Never has its defence been so strong and reliable, never have there been such favourable conditions for solving the tasks in the name of which the revolution was carried through—raising the living standards of the people, expanding socialist democracy and catering for the all-round development of the individual.

In describing contemporary social processes, it is impossible not to look back at the sources of Marxist-Leninist theory. Nor is this merely a formal tribute to the founders of scientific communism. It is well known that the present cannot be understood without looking at the past, and this is all the more true when one is speaking of theoretical propositions of principle.

It will be remembered that Marx distinguished two phases of the communist formation—the first phase of communist society, which we call socialism, and the higher stage, which is communist society. At the same time, Marx theoretically substantiated the universal and essential laws governing the building of the new society, which manifest

themselves differently at different stages of the historical process.

Theoretically it was clear that the transition from capitalism to communism would take a long period of time, the new society developing stage by stage. However, it was virtually impossible to know in advance what these stages would be in fact, and therefore Marx and Engels did not attempt to provide a detailed account of the movement towards communism. They considered that the general theory "presents a general outline of the proletarian movement, while leaving its theoretical elaboration to be guided by the needs of the practical struggle..."¹ The founders of Marxism clearly expressed their view that socialism would not be a brief stop on the way to communism, but a particular and fairly lengthy stage of development gradually coming to maturity.

Working in new historical conditions, Lenin enriched and concretised the Marxist teaching on the development of the communist formation. The leader of the revolution, possessed of enormous powers of scientific prophecy, was able to perceive in the first signs of socialism the mighty results they would yield, and to make a series of prognostications about the establishment and development of socialism which were later to be brilliantly confirmed. Lenin frequently used the expression "a developed (advanced—Tr.) socialist society",² by which he meant that the new society had a high level of progress and displayed in full the features and principles that correspond to the first stage of communism—socialism.

Lenin's theoretical outline of the stages of maturing socialism are of great practical significance today. Basing themselves on these ideas and summarising the experience of building the new society, the CPSU and other communist and workers' parties in the socialist community have defined the basic objectives and tasks in developing and consolidating socialism. From the beginning of the 1960s, Lenin's concept of a developed socialist society has been part of the programme documents of the communist par-

¹ *The General Council of the First International 1871-1872*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 389.

² See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 331, 465, and Vol. 42, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 78.

ties. Thus the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties (1960) noted that some socialist countries had already begun the building of a developed socialist society.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU confirmed and theoretically substantiated the conclusion on building developed socialism in the USSR, formulated in 1967. The 25th Congress of the CPSU made a major contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of developed socialism, further expanding and concretising the earlier propositions on mature socialism. It provided a comprehensive description of this stage and formulated the tasks to be completed for its further improvement in various spheres of social life.

The experience of the Soviet Union, followed by that of the fraternal socialist countries, showed that the creation of the foundations of socialism (the liquidation of the exploiter classes and the introduction of social ownership in all sectors of the national economy) still did not make it possible to start immediately upon the transition to communism. Victorious socialism must, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism foretold, pass through various stages of development, and only a developed socialist society provides the opportunity of advancing to the construction of communism. At this stage, the socialist structure reveals ever more fully the advantages of its socio-economic and political organisation, its genuine democracy and the corresponding cultural development of the individual.

The Essence of Developed Socialism

As has already been noted, socialism emerged triumphant in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. This new society had been created on the basis of what had remained of tsarist Russia and still bore the "birthmarks" of private ownership. Mature or developed socialism provides its own foundations, that is, it rests upon the already existing material-technical base of socialism, upon socialist relations that have already emerged and taken root in every sphere of social life, and upon a high level of material well-being among the working people, achieved on the basis of socialist principles of distribution and accumulation. To use the defi-

nition given by Leonid Brezhnev, it is that stage of maturity in the new society which sees the completion of the restructuring of all social relations on the collectivist principles intrinsic to socialism.

Developed socialism is a society which deals not only with the tasks of improving socialist principles, but also the tasks of building communism and, above all, with the building of the material-technical base of communism. It is clear that a mature socialist society must rest upon highly developed productive forces, upon a powerful and advanced industry, and on large-scale, highly-mechanised and collectivised agriculture. Such is the present Soviet economy, which differs radically from that which existed four decades ago, when socialist production relations first emerged victorious in town and village. By the late 1960s, the USSR possessed a highly developed, technically well-equipped economic system both in industry and agriculture. One single economic complex had been established on the basis of a diversified industry and socialist agriculture, advanced technology, highly qualified industrial and agricultural workers and specialists in every branch of the economy. All of this made it possible to exceed the production level of the 1930s many times over. Now it takes less than a month to produce what it took a whole year to produce in 1936.

These successes are revealed even more clearly against the background of the world economy. Industrial production in the USSR now equals the sum total of world industrial production in 1950. Then Soviet industrial production was 30 per cent of that of the most powerful of the capitalist states, the USA. In 1977 this figure had risen to 80 per cent, and the gap is decreasing. In production of oil, steel, pig iron, tractors, mineral fertilisers, cement and cotton, and in freight turnover the USSR now leads the USA.

However, quantitative indicators are not the only factor involved. The economy of mature socialism is also developing qualitatively in comparison with the 1930s. There is a constant improvement in industrial technology, and industrial methods are extending to all branches and forms of material production without exception.

Over recent years, advanced branches of industry such

as communications electronics, instrument-making, the production of semi-conductors, electronic and computer engineering, automation, atomic and space technology have developed apace. The share of the total volume of production in those branches of industry that determine the technical progress and efficiency of the economy (machine building, electrical engineering, the chemical and petrochemical industry) is constantly increasing. The all-round development of science and technology in every branch of the economy is a typical feature of the present stage of economic development throughout the country.

In carrying through the programme for the building of communism, the CPSU is guided by Lenin's instruction "that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase . . . that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life".¹

Proceeding on the basis of its planned objectives, the Party is doing all in its power to promote the role of science in building the communist society, and encourage research that opens up new possibilities in developing the productive forces and the rapid introduction of the latest techniques, particularly automation. It is also promoting research work (including directly at factories) and the elaboration of an entire system for studying and disseminating Soviet and foreign scientific and technological information.

A characteristic feature of developed socialism is the increasing socialisation and organisation of production, the process of concentration. The transition to developed socialism is the result of qualitative changes that have occurred not only in economic but also in social, political and ideological relations. Every sphere of life has witnessed the consolidation of those principles that exclude the reappearance of anti-socialist elements and ensure the exclusive advance of socialist social relations. Developed socialism is marked by profound changes in the social structure. In the USSR, the social structure is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production and corresponds to the requirements of communist construction. While the lead-

ing role of the working class has been maintained, there has been a noticeable rapprochement of all the classes and social groups, and the social homogeneity of socialist society is ever more clearly pronounced.

A major indicator of developed socialism in the Soviet Union, a sign of the increasing homogeneity of Soviet society and the success of the nationalities policy pursued by the CPSU, was the formation of a historically new social and international community—the Soviet people. This means that general features of the behaviour, character and outlook of Soviet people, independent of specific social and national features, are coming to be of decisive significance.

The socialist way of life that has developed in the USSR is a radically new and higher type of human social activity. The course of the historical competition between the two opposing socio-economic systems is ever more clearly revealing the indisputable advantages of the socialist over the bourgeois way of life. This socialist way of life is the fruit of the enormous social achievements of the working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia of the USSR.

As a result of the harmonisation of different forms of socialist ownership, of the gradual elimination of the major differences between town and country, between intellectual and physical work, and the transition of all working people to the ideological position of the working class, essential changes have also occurred in the political system, of which the most important is the evolution of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a socialist state of the whole people, a change that has been registered in the new Constitution of the USSR (1977). This Constitution once more affirmed that all the changes taking place in the USSR are directed first and foremost at creating truly humane conditions of life. It convincingly demonstrated that the concepts of freedom, human rights, democracy and social justice are given real content only under socialism.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state have always considered the material and social well-being of the working people to be their main concern. Much has been done in this respect. However, in the 1920s and 1930s, and in the immediate postwar years, the possibility of meeting these needs was very limited. At the stage of developed

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Better Fewer, but Better", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 489.

socialism this possibility is considerably increased. Over recent years the Party and the state have carried through important measures to improve the level of pay and pensions for industrial workers, white collar workers and collective farmers, and to provide the latter with social insurance. The housing problem is also being successfully solved. The working day has been shortened and the number of holidays increased. Free and subsidised services are also broadening in scope.

The real incomes of blue and white collar workers had increased 3.7 times in 1977 as compared with 1940, and for collective farmers it had increased 6.2 times. On average, the income per head increased by 5.3 times over this period. The main source of income was and remains earned income. The average monthly pay of blue and white collar workers is increasing every year. Thus during the ninth five-year plan period (1971-75), following an increase in wages and the abolition or reduction of certain taxes, more than 75 million workers enjoyed a rise in income. In the course of the tenth five-year plan period 31 million workers received an increase in pay. Payments from the social consumption fund were also increased. These payments rise by about 4,500 million roubles every year.

The social fund provides free secondary, specialised secondary and higher education, free medical aid, sickness and other benefits, pensions, grants, holiday pay, accommodation in a sanatorium or holiday home, and nursery schools. The social fund is a characteristic feature of the socialist way of life. Its social meaning consists in promoting the equalisation of human development regardless of social and family situation, and thus helping the formation of a communal psychology and loyalty to the ideals of socialism. It constitutes a step towards the communist principle of distribution.

Within the framework of the general objective of raising the living standards of the whole Soviet people, special attention is paid to the lower paid and more disadvantaged sections of the population. This is reflected in the policy of raising the minimum wage and pension level, and also increasing state aid to families to help with the upbringing of the next generation. The equalising of the socio-economic and living conditions of industrial workers, white collar

workers and collective farmers, of town and village dwellers, is of enormous social and political significance. In the Soviet Union today difference in income, and in particular difference in pay, between these groups of population is insignificant.

The tremendous socio-economic and political achievements of socialism, confirmed in the new Constitution of the USSR, are convincing proof that no other society has ever done or could ever do for the popular masses, for the working people, what socialism has done for them. At the stage of developed socialism, the Soviet state is raising to the level of a constitutional principle the communist principle: "The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all", and the entire activity of the Party and the state is subordinate to this principle. The greater the possibilities of the society of developed socialism, the higher its aims.

In the conditions of developed socialism society has the greatest ever opportunity to, using the words of Lenin, "make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible".¹

Marxists-Leninists, who view the period of developed socialism as the historical period of the direct construction of communist society, proceed on the basis that there is no transitional period between socialism and communism. The perfecting of developed socialism, its further maturing, is itself the transition to communism, the evolution of socialism into communism. This is true not only for the Soviet Union. *Whatever the specific conditions existing in countries that are building socialism, the period of its perfection on its own basis, the period of developed, mature socialism, is an essential link in the chain of social transformations and constitutes a relatively long period of development along the road from capitalism to communism.*

The concept of developed socialist society, a concept elaborated by the joint efforts of the CPSU and the fraternal communist and workers' parties, represents a major theoret-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First Congress of Economic Councils, May 26, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 411.

ical contribution to Marxism-Leninism. Basing itself on the theory and practice of developed socialism, the CPSU has marked out a clear and realistic short-term and long-term policy. The new Constitution of the USSR, which reflects the achievements of developed socialism, summarises the enormous historical path travelled by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and indicates the concrete objectives of the practical activity of the state and the entire people in the building of communism.

XIV. Creating the Material and Technical Base of Communism—the Main Economic Objective of the Party and the People

The Material and Technical Base of Communism and Its Specific Features

To attempt to build communism without creating the appropriate material and technical base is as unrealistic as to attempt a space-flight without a spaceship. The period of developed socialism provides society with a qualitatively new and higher production base, *the material and technical base of communism*, which allows a sharp increase in the productivity of labour and in the national income, making it possible to implement the communist principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". What is this material and technical base and how does it differ from that of socialism?

First of all it differs in its technological level. Whereas the purpose during the building of socialism was to mechanise the processes of production, now the aim is to *automate* them. The material and technical base of communism presupposes the comprehensive automation of the whole of production by using the latest electronic and computer technology. Without automation it is useless to speak of the technical base of communism. It is precisely automation that will make it possible and, indeed, is already making it possible to direct the most complex production processes and energy systems, to conduct accounting and control and to collect and analyse enormous quantities of information. Without this it is impossible to manage the economy or engage in economic and social planning.

Automation also makes it possible to free the workers from arduous, unskilled and non-creative labour, and to develop still further the role of the chemical industry and electric power in the economy. It lies at the heart of the successful conquest of space.

The material and technical base of communism is production based on the latest achievements of science and constantly renewing itself as a result of further scientific discoveries. It is the perfected organisation of social production in its entirety, at the level of the whole of society. It is the optimum production system in which the productive forces are rationally located and natural wealth and labour resources are put to most effective use.

Finally, this technology and labour organisation are essential in order to ease human labour and render it meaningful and creative in every sphere, so that it brings satisfaction and contributes to the all-round development of the individual. The material and technical base of communism, by raising labour productivity, increases the supply of material goods and thus satisfies the ever-increasing requirements of the people.

Only this material and technical base permits the transformation of socialist social relations into communist social relations, eliminating the social distinction between the working class and the peasantry, between the town and the village, between intellectual and physical labour.

The creation of the material and technical base of communism is also an essential factor in the education of the new man. The all-round development of the individual requires that material needs be satisfied and that he have sufficient free time to satisfy his intellectual and cultural requirements, actively participate in the running of society and fully develop his physical and intellectual capacities. Free time is greater the higher the productivity of labour, that is, the less time is spent by the individual in producing the largest possible amount of products. This aim can be attained by using the latest equipment and techniques.

The creation of the material and technical base of communism is, therefore, the decisive link in the chain of economic, social, political and ideological objectives to be achieved in the construction of communism and is the essential prerequisite of success in reaching the final goal of social development—the formation of the fully developed individual.

In addition, this material and technical base will enable socialism to win the economic competition against capitalism, increase the influence of the new society on interna-

tional relations, strengthen its defence and thus secure the peaceful work of the Soviet people by protecting them from the aggressive encroachments of imperialism.

The material and technical base of communism is created by promoting a scientific and technological revolution, using to this end all the advantages offered by socialism. The scientific and technological revolution is a radical, qualitative change in the development of the productive forces. It encompasses not only science and technology, but the whole of social production, and is characterised by the following specific features.

Firstly, technology enters a new phase in its development, the phase of *comprehensive automation*. Machine production, in which the worker is obliged to directly participate in the technological process and carry out specific technical functions, begins gradually to give way to automated production in which the product is entirely processed by the technical system itself without the direct participation of the worker. The latter merely regulates or controls the automated machine system. Advanced automation uses cybernetics to direct, programme and control.

Secondly, the *technological methods of production* change. Classical machine production based primarily on mechanics, merely alters the form of the product, while its physical and chemical properties remain the same. With the spread of the scientific and technological revolution, such traditional methods as turning, milling, cutting, filing, casting, moulding, spinning, stamping and welding, which have hitherto predominated in material production, are being replaced by more effective, and in most cases chemical methods of acting upon the product to change its physical and chemical properties. Not only is the shape of the original material altered, but it is also converted into a new substance possessing pre-set qualities. Such is the chemical technology used in producing synthetic materials, such as the methods used in generating atomic energy and in the industrial use of plasma-chemical processes, of masers and lasers and electronics. Biochemistry and microphysics are also being used to great effect in plant and animal breeding.

Thirdly, both automation and the introduction of a new, more effective technology are being carried through *on the basis of the latest achievements in science*. The present rad-

ical changes taking place in the productive forces are characterised by the merging of science and technology, and of science and material production as a whole. Science is itself becoming a direct productive force. In the past, only a few "vanguard" sciences such as mechanics, physics, chemistry and applied research exerted any direct influence upon production. Today the number of sciences involved in material production has greatly increased.

Fourthly, the new technology and techniques require that *the workers have better qualifications, a higher level of education and general culture, and also help to bring this about.*

The scientific and technological revolution is also occurring in the capitalist countries. There, however, science and technology serve the interests of capital and the military-industrial complex, aimed at further intensifying the exploitation of the workers. Under socialism, the achievements of the STR are used to benefit the workers themselves.

Each major new step in the development of the productive forces, in the development of science and technology, makes new demands on the entire system of economic relations and on the existing mechanisms of management and control. In their turn, changes in the socio-economic sphere inevitably affect scientific and technological progress, stimulate its advance and create more favourable conditions for introducing the achievements of science and technology into production. For this reason the Party has set the objective of *uniting the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.* This objective is twofold. Firstly, it is essential that all the opportunities offered by the political and socio-economic organisation of Soviet society be used to the full to accelerate scientific and technological progress, that the entire economic mechanism be adapted to the new level reached by the productive forces, and that there be a corresponding improvement in the system of economic planning and stimulation.

Secondly, it is essential that the management of science and technology also be improved so that possibilities as yet untapped can be discovered and put to use and the development of science and technology directed to attaining the goals of communist construction.

The tenth five-year plan was already consistently pursu-

ing the transition from the creation and introduction of individual machines and technological processes to the development, production and mass application of high-efficiency *machine systems, equipment, and technological processes that permit the mechanisation and automation of production.*

Under capitalism, the introduction of automation brings with it serious social consequences. Machines replace men and large numbers of workers find themselves out of work. Unemployment is the constant companion of capitalism, whose aim is not the satisfaction of human needs but the pursuit of profit. Scientific and technological progress increases the army of the unemployed. There arises a demand for new professions that usually require highly qualified workers. Retraining low-qualified workers is troublesome for the industrialist and, to put it more simply, unprofitable. Instead they are sacked. In capitalist countries the number of unemployed who have no qualifications is particularly high.

Under socialism automation brings with it no threat to the individual. Here there is no unemployment. If automation frees workers in one section of production, they are employed in another. The state provides for workers to raise their qualifications.

The creation of the material and technical base of communism depends on the use of energy, which is the "bread" of the economy. It is therefore not surprising that the USSR is putting great emphasis on the development of electric power, the most common form of energy. Automation and electronics, cybernetics and chemistry, electrometallurgy and the electrical processing of metals are all developing on the basis of electric power. Electricity generation is increasing rapidly. In 1940 the electric energy output was 48,500 million kilowatt-hours, in 1960 it reached 292,000 million, and by 1977 the electric energy output totalled 1,150,000 million kilowatt-hours. Under the tenth five-year plan, the electricity output was increased further to reach 1,295,000 million kilowatt-hours.

At present, electricity is produced by burning fuel and by harnessing water power. However, fuel and water resources, though vast, are not endless, and therefore men are naturally seeking ways of obtaining and exploiting new

forms of energy. Atomic energy is developing at a rapid pace. The Soviet Union has built the world's first atomic power station and now possesses several large atomic energy plants. Atomic energy is used to drive ships and to desalinate water, and also in numerous technological processes and in medicine. Successful work is being done to achieve the direct conversion of atomic power into electricity, to control thermonuclear reactions and to harness solar energy.

The widespread use of chemistry in production is a particularly important feature of the material and technical base of communism. Modern production is unthinkable without new synthetic materials, fuels and raw materials. These include plastics, synthetic rubbers, fibres and other products of the chemical industry which, in their reliability, inexpensiveness and elegance, are often superior to natural materials.

The use of chemical products and synthetic materials leads to profound changes in the major branches of production and results in an increase in both quantity and quality. Chemistry broadens the raw materials base, providing new materials for industry, more efficient techniques (such as chemical fertilisers) for agriculture, and permits an increase in the quantity and quality of consumer goods. The use of chemicals lightens the workload, raises productivity and thus reduces the labour expenditure.

The *agrarian policy* formulated by Lenin is being consistently pursued. Modern agrarian policy scientifically reflects the new conditions and requirements of socialist society and is designed to make agriculture a highly efficient and highly productive branch of the economy in order to ensure that the country is adequately supplied with agricultural produce. The agrarian policy aims at improving the quality of the produce, reducing the dependence of agriculture on weather conditions and at further eliminating the difference between life in the town and in the village.

The objectives of the agrarian policy can only be achieved by further *mechanisation, use of chemicals and land improvement*. The basic production funds in the socialised sector of agriculture have reached 184,000 million roubles, which is 180 per cent higher than in 1965. The machine-tractor fleet of collective and state farms has been almost completely renewed and improved, and there has been an

increase in the number of modern high-power machines with greater lifting capacity and efficiency. The electrification of agriculture is continuing at a high rate.

Previously the Soviet Union did not possess such independent, large-scale branches of agriculture as water management and land improvement, machine-building for animal husbandry and animal feed production, the agricultural building industry, the mixed feed and microbiological industries. Now these branches of agriculture have been developed, as have tractor and agricultural machine-building, the production of mineral fertilisers and the food processing industry. Taken together, all this constitutes a mighty industrial complex designed to ensure the continuing improvement of agriculture.

The Factors Involved in Economic Growth

Nowadays we frequently meet such concepts as "extensive" and "intensive". Let us try, therefore, to examine the meaning of these terms.

Economic activity involves the building of new factories and mines, the opening up of virgin land and the employment of new labour. This, in effect, is the quantitative growth of production, its expansion. In describing this phenomenon we say that the economy is developing *extensively*. It is clear that the possibilities for extensive development have their limit. Does, for example, the Soviet Union still have unused land resources? Not in any large quantity. The yearly increase in man power is also fairly small. In short, it is now impossible to rely on unlimited extensive growth. For this reason the economy is shifting to *intensive* development. Intensive development means the introduction of new techniques into industry, permitting an increase in production on the same territory with the same or an even smaller work force. The same applies to agriculture.

New factories are, of course, still being built and new land opened up. The change is merely in the proportional relationship of extensive and intensive development in favour of the latter. In the words of the Party, *the intensive development of social production is the main direction to*

be followed in developing the national economy, a direction which over the next few years and for some time into the future will be the main prerequisite for building the material and technical base of communism.

Raising the efficiency, the effectiveness of production means, first and foremost, raising the *productivity of social labour*, and this is of enormous significance in achieving the transition to the highest phase of communist society. "One of the basic tasks," wrote Lenin, "is to raise the level of labour productivity, for without this the full transition to communism is impossible."¹

Lenin linked raising the social productivity of labour with a number of factors, but primarily with the provision of the material base for heavy industry, with the rational use of natural resources, with the scientific organisation of labour with an increase in the educational and cultural level of the population, with improved labour discipline and the ability to work.

Today the growth of labour productivity is the main source of the increase in the volume of production. Whereas under the first five-year plan 51 per cent of the increase in industrial produce was achieved through the growth of labour productivity, under the ninth five-year plan this figure reached 84 per cent. The increase in labour productivity during the ninth five-year plan was the equivalent of an additional ten million industrial workers.

Increasing labour productivity is one of the major factors in the economic strategy of the Party. In the course of the tenth five-year plan the productivity of all social labour rose by 27 per cent, a figure higher than that achieved in the ninth five-year plan. Increased labour productivity is called upon to ensure an increase of 85-90 per cent in the national income, an increase of roughly 90 per cent in industrial production, and the whole of the increase in agricultural production. It must also cover all building and repair works and not less than 95 per cent of the increase in railway freight turnover. All the efforts of the workers are directed at fulfilling these targets.

Every percentage increase in labour productivity now has enormous economic significance, for it represents a growth

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 113.

in output amounting to tens and hundreds of millions of roubles. In industry, for example, it would take an extra 300 thousand workers to achieve the same growth in production provided by a labour productivity increase of one per cent.

Among the factors affecting the growth of labour productivity, the most important is the *rapid introduction* of new technology. A great deal of work still has to be done to ensure that scientific achievements are put to practical use not only in individual, if highly successful, experimental products but in thousands upon thousands of products ranging from individual machines to everything connected with improving work conditions and living standards.

Practice has shown that the highest rates of scientific and technological progress and a rapid improvement in the technical quality of the products are achieved when scientific research, technological development, construction and production are united into one single system. The Soviet Union has already acquired considerable experience in creating effective organisational forms for linking science and production. These include large-scale industrial associations and combines, huge scientific-industrial associations and complexes which encompass the entire range of activity from the scientific discovery to mass production of the product.

Scientific and technological progress is subordinated to the interests of the working people. It is this that explains their deep interest in the development and effective use of technology. The times demand that the creative initiative of the workers, the invention and rationalisation movement, be encouraged in every way possible and that the activity of scientific and technological societies be improved. To participate in this noble and economically important cause is the duty and pride of every worker.

Improving the Quality of Production and Running the Economy Rationally and Efficiently

Under developed socialism, greater attention is paid to the quality of production. The growth in labour productivity is now achieved not only by increasing the output at

every workplace, but even more by *improving the quality of production*. The campaign for improved quality is now regarded by the Party as an integral part of the campaign to ensure the high level of all economic activity. High quality of production economises on labour and material resources, improves exports and also enables the requirements of society to be better and more fully satisfied.

Improving the quality is the equivalent of increasing output without the additional consumption of raw materials and energy, and also without tying down extra equipment and labour. The economy as a whole and each individual in particular benefit from improved quality, and thus the campaign to improve quality involves everyone.

The quality of different products is estimated using different indices: technical-operational properties (power, productivity, lifting capacity, etc.), reliability, durability, efficiency (labour consumption, energy consumption, material consumption, etc.), aesthetics (design, fashionability) and a number of others. The quality of a car, for example, is estimated not on the basis of one but of several of these indices—work capacity, power per unit weight, efficiency, durability, operational reliability and appearance. Each of these is important and each must be taken into account when building the car. On the other hand a mine is evaluated by one main and basic indicator—the amount of coal or ore it contains. This means that the campaign for quality must be specific and aimed at improving precisely those indices of quality that play the most important role.

The campaign for high quality is backed up by a single system of quality certificates that operates throughout the entire country. Those products whose techno-economic indices correspond to the highest level of Soviet and foreign technological achievements are awarded the state Mark of Quality. This is by no means merely an honorary award, but is evidence of the fact that the industrial enterprise concerned has succeeded in keeping abreast of the rapid developments in science and technology when manufacturing the product. Production of second-category products should cease or the products should be improved to meet modern standards.

Also of great importance in creating the material and technical base of communism is *further economy in the use*

of material resources. Concern on the part of the workers to improve labour productivity and economise on every kilogramme of metal and grain was described by Lenin as the foundation of communism. Care and thrift are not simply ways of husbanding resources. They are also a form of economic management that is typical of the socialist system.

The building of communism requires the rational use of material and labour resources. Thrift, the rational use of every rouble belonging to the people, the skilful deployment of resources, the constant improvement of planned management and methods of control, of organisation and conscious discipline, and the stimulation of popular initiative are all mighty levers serving to accelerate the transition of Soviet society to communism. As society moves towards communism, care and thrift become of increasing importance, for the scale of production is constantly expanding.

The socialist social system possesses all that is necessary for thrifty, economic management. The people are the masters of the country and all property belongs to them. However, actualising this potential requires the efforts of millions. Lenin's injunction to manage skilfully, economically, to the benefit of the state and the people, concerns everyone, both the leaders and the ordinary workers.

There are many ways in which economy can be practised: reduction in weight, rational design, the full and integrated use of materials, recycling of waste products, etc. The economical use of materials, equipment and energy are not, of course, the only ways of economising. Of equal importance is the economical use of labour time. A minute costs much in the factory, the branch of industry and the whole national economy.

Economy and thrift are the constant concern of the Party. The precise calculation and careful use of every rouble of investment, every working hour, every ton of production, together with the total elimination of any signs of careless management and waste are matters of universal concern.

Husbanding Natural Resources

Labour, according to Marx, "is, in the first place, a process in which both man and nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates and controls

the material re-actions between himself and nature".¹ In acting upon and transforming nature, man makes use of the materials and forces of nature for his own needs. Now the entire planet has become the scene of human activity and the source of raw materials and energy.

Natural resources are the basis of life for all that lives upon the earth. They are essential to human survival. Therefore, in caring for nature, man cares for himself and he must move to a fully scientific organisation of the use of these resources. "At every step," wrote Engels, "we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature... like someone standing outside nature—but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly."²

The uncontrolled exploitation of the environment and the plundering of natural resources began in the early stages of the development of human society, intensified in the age of feudalism and reached its peak under capitalism. Today developed capitalist countries are using all the achievements of science and technology to master nature. A consumer and predatory attitude to natural resources is characteristic of capitalism and, with the scientific and technological revolution, not only leads to their exhaustion but also brings with it a train of negative and irreversible consequences for the environment.

The scientific and technological revolution cannot but lead to increased human involvement and interference in natural processes. New branches of production and new professions emerge whose representatives are engaged in activities that, in one way or another, affect the environment.

The relationship between man and nature is double-edged. On the one hand he restructures the face of the earth, creating artificial reservoirs and irrigation systems, increasing the areas of vegetation and tilled land. On the other he undermines the natural equilibrium of the environment. The pollution of air and water, land erosion, the threat to

various animal and plant species, the uneconomical use of land and other natural resources such as oil, gas, coal and minerals, the demand for which is constantly rising, are causing great concern among all the nations of the world.

The rapid development of science and technology under socialism poses the question of the relationship between man and nature with particular urgency. We are interested both in the harmonious development of nature and human society and also in the acceleration of scientific and technological development.

Therefore it is important that the use of natural resources be so organised as to prevent both their destruction or diminution, and also any negative consequences of our activity in the future. The scientific and technological revolution should progress in such a way as not to damage the environment. This involves the full recycling of industrial waste, the creation of a new, waste-free technology and the wide adoption of closed-cycle production processes. All of this is within our powers. Moreover, as techniques and technology advance, men will have at their disposal an ever-increasing range of means whereby they can improve their interaction with the environment.

In the USSR, nature conservation is a matter of nationwide concern and interest and considered as one of the major tasks involved in the building of communism. The state gives every support to public organisations whose activity is directed at conserving, restoring and improving the environment. The Society for the Protection of the Environment, a voluntary organisation, has over 30 million members. Concrete measures have been laid down for conserving and increasing natural resources, including protecting the soil from water and wind erosion, increased afforestation, the construction of artificial reservoirs, the irrigation of pasture land and land improvement. Steps are being taken to increase the amount of greenery in towns and villages and to prevent the pollution of the air, water and farmland. The building of communism presupposes an attitude of care and respect towards all national resources, including the environment.

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 173.

² F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 180.

Efficient Management

In the age of the scientific and technological revolution we are increasingly called upon to deal with complex technical systems such as spaceships, automated factories and power grid. The constructive thought and skilful labour needed to create them provoke our admiration. However, no technical system can compare in complexity with that of the economy. It is difficult even to imagine the scale and complexity of the inter-relations and interactions involved in this gigantic organism.

The further the Soviet people advance along the road to communism, the more complex and diversified become the tasks they have to face. This is explained not only by the sheer scale of this enormous undertaking but also by the very nature of the problems being solved, which are a combination of practical requirements and fundamental scientific ideas. Developed socialism is, as has already been pointed out, the period of the gradual transition of society to communism, in which the economy, the socio-political and the intellectual-cultural life of the Soviet people become exceptionally dynamic and mobile. In such conditions it is extremely important to know how best to make use of existing possibilities, how best to organise human, material and financial resources and how to anticipate the future. In other words, it is essential that the complex economic mechanism be managed scientifically, that its organisational structure and the style and methods of control be improved.

This is the approach to management that underlies the propositions put forward by Lenin, who not only elaborated the principles of scientific management, but who also implemented them consistently in everyday practice. "Neither railways nor transport, nor large-scale machinery and enterprises in general can function correctly without a single will linking the entire working personnel into an economic organ operating with the precision of clockwork."¹

As a result of the rapid economic growth of developed socialism, the perfecting of social relations and the all-round development of intellectual life, management is more

and more coming to resemble precise, scientific activity. To this complex science of management the Party is directing its unflagging attention, elaborating the strategy and tactic of communist construction and indicating the path leading to the successful achievement of the aims.

The Party has provided a precise definition of the key problems involved in developing the economy at the present stage of communist construction. These include the acceleration of scientific and technological progress in every sphere of material production, new objectives in agriculture, increased consumer production, an improvement in retail trade and services and the expansion of economic links abroad. The mechanisms of management are designed to ensure the best, the optimal functioning both of individual sectors of the economy and the economy as a whole.

The leading role in the economic management system of the country is played by the state plan. *The planned management of the economy* is the great achievement and advantage of socialism. Much has been achieved here of which the Soviet people can be rightly proud. The scientific basis and realism of the plan helped to resurrect the economy of the young Soviet Republic. The fiftieth anniversary of the first five-year plan, a major landmark in the life of the country, was celebrated only recently. At present large-scale economic programmes are under way, including the opening up of Western Siberia and the laying of the Baikal-Amur Railway. The Party and the Government are emphasising the need to further improve planning, to adopt a comprehensive approach to the drawing up of plans, and to concentrate efforts and resources on carrying through major all-Union programmes.

The other component in the improvement of the economic system is *a more skilful use of economic incentives and levers*: accounting, profit, prices and bonuses. This requires above all the scientific organisation of labour. Satisfying requirements depends on its quantity and quality. However, the individual does not, as a rule, work alone, but in factory, on a collective farm, a building site, a laboratory. Thus the level of his labour contribution and, therefore, the level to which requirements are satisfied, depends largely on the successful work of the entire factory collective. The factory in its turn is but one link in the economic system of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 212.

country. The well-being of the factory collective and of each of its members depends, in the final analysis, on the success of the entire national economy.

Today, at a time when the CPSU is taking measures to further improve economic efficiency, raise the quality of work and perfect the economic management system, it is all the more important that larger numbers of working people be drawn into active management and that greater use be made of their knowledge and experience. Groups set up to assist the committees of people's control are working in factories, offices and institutes under the guidance of party organisations. They constitute an important link in the management system, and one based on the mass participation of the workers in the work of people's control. The right of blue and white collar workers to share in production management is set forth in the Constitution of the USSR.

The Communist Style of Work

Whatever heights are achieved in social or intellectual development, labour was and remains the basis of success. The material and technical base of communism is being built and will continue to be built by the work of millions of Soviet people united by a single purpose. Communism and labour are inseparable. It is through labour that men develop and express their intellectual and physical abilities.

The nature of labour under communism will, of course, be other than what it is now. The conditions of labour will alter, as will its motivating forces. Labour will become genuinely communist.

Communist labour, wrote Lenin, "is labour performed gratis for the benefit of society, labour performed not as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to previously established and legally fixed quotas, but voluntary labour, irrespective of quotas; it is labour performed without expectation of reward, without reward as a condition, labour performed because it has become a habit to work for the common good, and because of a conscious realisation (that has become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common

good—labour as the requirement of the healthy organism".¹

This is the kind of labour forming itself within socialism. The Soviet individual, having freed himself from exploitation, has become the genuine master of his destiny. Labour gives the clearest expression to his collectivist psychology. He is concerned for the common cause and directs all his energy and initiative to achieving the designated aims.

Communism sees as its aim the conversion of work into a human need for each individual, so that without it a normal, full-blooded life is unthinkable. It is when work is also a pleasure that the individual works more productively and reveals all his intellectual and physical capacities. Only on this condition is it possible to fully realise the communist principle: "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs".

Socialist emulation is a particularly striking expression of the labour enthusiasm and consciousness of the people. Emulation is an effective means of raising the productivity and efficiency of social production, of educating the workers in the spirit of communism and drawing them into production management. In general terms, emulation is the desire to achieve the best results in a given sphere of activity, to outstrip the best so far achieved by oneself or others. In the last analysis, the social nature of emulation and its concrete historical forms are conditioned by the mode of production, the nature of human productive activity and the relations between men in the production process.

Under capitalism, with its private ownership of the means of production, human activity is based on rivalry that is the struggle of each against each. Rivalry, hostility are the distorted forms of emulation, operating in the capitalist system. Only under socialism does emulation reveal its social nature as friendly labour emulation. Labour, freed from exploitation, gives rise to a genuine desire on the part of the workers to work better and more productively. In so doing they are motivated not only by personal interests but also by the interests of the community.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "From the Destruction of the Old Social System to the Creation of the New", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 517.

Socialist emulation began with voluntary Saturday work at the beginning of 1919 and has since spread to become nationwide in scope. The Party has developed the Leninist principles of publicising the obligations and achievements of those involved in the emulation, comparing the results and providing the opportunity for the best to be emulated on a mass scale. This tradition of socialist emulation has produced a steady increase in productivity and stimulated the active participation of the workers in the building of communism. The role played by socialist emulation in the development of the Soviet economy and its influence on various aspects of social life are constantly growing. As a form of labour activity among broad masses of the population, emulation was of major importance in the building of socialism.

With the transition to a developed socialist society, competition has undergone a qualitative change. Now the slogan is not simply to produce more, but also to produce better and more economically, with the minimum expenditure of materials and labour. Over recent years, those workers whose initiative is based on a knowledge of economics and on the accumulated experience of production and labour organisation have made a major contribution to this emulation. Such initiatives are expressive of the economic and organisational creativity of the masses.

Socialist emulation is designed to accelerate scientific and technological progress, as are the new initiatives by leading workers. Such an orientation is evidence of a significant growth in the political, moral, intellectual and professional potential of the workers, and makes it possible to tap the creative energy and natural talents of the broad working masses.

The movement for a communist attitude to labour has also developed into a mass movement. Born more than twenty years ago, it has become a typical feature of our modern society and now has more than 50 million members. It is the fruit of many years of ceaseless work by the Leninist Party to inculcate a creative and enterprising attitude to work in every sphere of social production.

An effective means of drawing the working people into socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude to work are the schools of communist labour, in

which the ideological-political education of the working people is combined with instruction on the most successful production experience and on economic management. These schools clearly reflect the desire of Soviet people to learn, work and live in a communist way and to be abreast of the times.

For a member of socialist society, who knows himself to be the complete master of production, material reward for labour is not enough. He requires moral encouragement. Recognition of work done, the respect of colleagues and the work team, of society as a whole, the feeling of pride in one's work, are all important in turning labour into a prime necessity, into genuinely communist labour. The Party teaches that, in encouraging labour, the most important is to harmoniously combine material and moral incentives. Only thus, and by taking into account the specific features of the present stage in the building of communism, will it be possible to convert labour into a source of creativity and inspiration, and also into a source of growing material prosperity and Soviet might.

XV. Towards a Classless Society, a Society of Complete Social Homogeneity

The Social Structure of Developed Socialism

Any society is a complex structural organisation in which individuals, groups and institutions are bound together by an infinite variety of links. The social structure of society is mobile and multi-faceted, and to describe it one must first determine its class composition, the nature of its classes and social groups, and their inter-relations. In other words, the class structure is the basis of the social structure of any society. That this is so is explained by the fact that the class structure of society is related to the forms of ownership of the means of production (in bourgeois society these are owned by the bourgeoisie, in socialist society they are owned by the people as a whole). Thus class relations determine the nature and essence of all other relations—political, juridical, national, personal and moral.

In his work "A Great Beginning", Lenin gives a definition of classes: "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it."¹

Lenin's definition of classes applies not only to an antagonistic society but also to socialist society. The main characteristic of class division is the relationship to the means of production.

The classes of a socialist society differ radically from

the classes of a capitalist society. The working class and the peasantry are friendly classes united by common social aims and objectives. Under socialism there are no exploiters and exploited, but not all citizens are similarly related to the means of production. The working class is linked to public ownership, which plays a decisive role in the development of social relations. The collectivised peasantry is linked to collective-co-operative property. It is this which, naturally, distinguishes the role of the working class and that of the peasantry in the social organisation of labour. There are certain differences in the respective share of social wealth and the form in which it is received, although the socialist principle of distribution (from each according to his ability, to each according to his work) is the same for all.

The historical transformation of the social structure of Soviet society occurred in three stages. First the landowners and big bourgeoisie were eliminated by the nationalisation of the means of production and of the land. Then the rich peasants were eliminated in the course of collectivisation. Then began the period of the rapprochement of the working class, the collectivised peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, whose alliance forms the social basis of socialist society.

"Communism", noted the Programme of the CPSU, "is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of co-operative wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' will be implemented."

The development of the social structure and the perfecting of the relations between the classes and social groups of society constitutes the main content of the social life of Soviet society during the period of developed socialism. The consolidation of the social, ideological and political unity of the people is taking place on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

The rapprochement of the classes and social groups and the elimination of class differences does not mean, as some of our ideological opponents would like to suppose, that the working class loses its vanguard role in society. On the contrary, the working class remains the leading force of socialist society, for it is this class, as Marx noted, that embodies the social intelligence and social heart of the working people.

The history of the Soviet Union has fully vindicated the major Marxist-Leninist tenet on the great historical mission of the working class. Lenin's prophetic words that "the only thoroughly revolutionary class in modern society, and therefore, the advanced class in every revolution, is the proletariat",¹ remain true to this day. The working class remains the main productive force of society, the producer of the basic material goods, the implementer of scientific, technological and social progress and the bearer of the advanced ideology. The Soviet working class has convincingly demonstrated its ability to guide the construction of socialism and communism and to take with it the peasantry and all the social groups of society.

The leading role of the working class is determined by its position in society, in the system of social production. The working class is directly connected with industry, the basis of the national economy, and thus exerts an *economic* influence on the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other social groups.

Revolutionary trial and socio-political experience have brought the working class to the forefront as the bearer of *communist ideology*. Its ideological and moral authority is recognised by all working people and serves as the focal point around which gather the workers of town and village and all the social groups of socialist society.

The working class influences the economic, socio-political and ideological life of society through the Party, the state and mass public organisations such as the trade unions and the Komsomol. However, its leading role is most fully expressed in the activity of the Party, the vanguard of the working class. The CPSU, while remaining by its nature,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Contribution to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 348.

by its aims and objectives, the party of the working class, has also become the party of the entire people. It unites together in its ranks the advanced sections of society, but the leading role in terms of its social composition, belongs to the working class.

The period of developed socialism is marked by a steady growth in the size of the working class. At the moment of transition to mature socialism it had become the most numerous class in society as a result of economic expansion and scientific and technological progress.

Industrial workers constitute the largest group in the working class. The industrial workers are characterised by a high level of organisation, unity, discipline, consciousness, high ideological principles and other qualities that represent the best features of the working class.

The rural working class is also increasing as the number of state collective farms, rural industrial enterprises and other institutions not engaged in production multiplies. Continuing agro-industrial integration and the industrialisation of the village will further accelerate this process. The rural working class brings to the village a highly developed industrial culture and organisation, is a pioneer in socialist emulation and serves as an example of socio-political activity and the principles and norms of communist morality.

The qualitative changes that have taken place within the working class are revealed by the constant growth in the number of qualified workers employed in leading branches of industry that determine the level of technological progress—machine-building, metal-working, power engineering, the chemical and petrochemical industries and metallurgy. Particularly rapid has been the growth of the number of workers involved in mechanisation and automation. Developed socialism has seen the emergence of new sections of the working class dealing with modern technology.

There have also been fundamental changes in the level of education among the workers. In 1939, only 8.4 per cent of the working class had higher, secondary or incomplete secondary education. In 1977, this figure had risen to 70 per cent. As a rule, the young generation of workers now has at least complete secondary education, and represents the most educated generation of workers in history.

This change in the educational level brings with it many other consequences. It permits the worker to master complex modern technology, while the higher level of professional qualifications finally leads to the merging of the working class and the scientific and technological intelligentsia. A new type of producer is emerging whose activity is a harmonious blend of physical and intellectual work. Today it is possible to distinguish within the working class a growing number of worker-intellectuals whose work demands special secondary and even higher education.

Thus the leading and ever-growing role of the working class in the building of the new society derives from the fact that, *first*, this class works in the leading branches of the national economy, is the producer of the greater part of the national wealth and, in the words of Lenin, *is the leading productive force of humanity*; *secondly*, the working class develops not only quantitatively (for every quantitative development has its limits), but also qualitatively, in its level of organisation, education, technical skill and political awareness. The worker vanguard is the core of the Communist Party; *thirdly*, the working class now expresses the interests of the whole of the people, rallying around itself the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia. All of this serves to refute bourgeois propaganda assertions that the influence of the working class is decreasing in the socialist countries.

Major changes have also occurred among the collectivised *peasantry*, the loyal ally of the working class and an active force in the building of communist society. In its social position it is drawing closer to the working class and in its level of education and way of life it is often barely distinguishable from the urban population. The modern peasantry, born and brought up in the collective farm, is characterised by a communal psychology and loyalty to the cause of socialism and communism.

The Soviet countryside has changed beyond recognition during the years of the construction of socialism, and is radically different from the village of the 1930s, the period of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. These changes cannot be measured by statistics alone, for they include profound and far-reaching socio-economic changes that reflect a qualitatively new stage in the development of social-

ist social production that began with Lenin's plan on co-operation. These changes are the result of the carefully-planned agrarian policy pursued by the Party and designed to bring about a radical technical reconstruction of agriculture, a process that will be intensively developed in the coming years.

The modern collective farm is a large-scale economic enterprise supplied with all the necessary technical equipment and with experienced engineers and specialists. It is here that the further development of the productive forces in the village is being dealt with. Collective-farm democracy ensures that the farmers participate in the management of production, thus organically combining the personal interests of the collective farmers and the interests of the people as a whole. In other words, the collective farms deal with questions of production and also with socio-cultural and socio-political matters, and participate in the development of socialist statehood. Thus collective farms, as economic enterprises, are seen as an integral part of the economic structure of Soviet society and also as the social organisations of the peasantry, and both of these functions are recorded in the Constitution of the USSR.

Whereas the working class is constantly increasing, the number of agricultural workers, on the contrary, is decreasing. In 1939, the collectivised peasantry and craftsmen working in co-operatives accounted for 47.2 per cent of the population. By 1978 this figure had fallen to 15.1 per cent. The main reason for this decrease is technological progress, the mechanisation of agriculture, which has freed labour to work in other branches of the economy. However, agricultural production has not thereby been reduced but has grown thanks to increased labour productivity.

The role of the collectivised peasantry in society is also increasing. It is called upon to solve more important and wide-ranging problems and the emphasis is shifting to engineers, agronomists and specialists in education, culture and the service industries.

The intelligentsia is another group whose activity is of growing importance, largely as a result of the growing role of science in all branches of production and also in the life of society. The number of scientists and engineers is increasing rapidly. A significant proportion of the Soviet in-

telligentsia comes from among the workers and peasants, a fact which serves to bind it more closely to the working people. It can, therefore, with every justification, call itself the people's intelligentsia, a name which reveals the main and determining social characteristic of the Soviet intelligentsia.

Scientific and technological progress and its effective use depend to a large degree upon specialists. However, the basic producer of the material goods without which social life is unthinkable was and remains the working class. The working class is typified by resolute consistency in the struggle for socialism and communism, by its solidarity and genuinely revolutionary outlook. These are the qualities that enable it to be the dominating force in social progress.

The building of developed socialism saw the expansion of the social base of the socialist system. The alliance of the working class and the collectivised peasantry developed within the framework of a sound political and ideological union between these classes and the people's intelligentsia, which is totally committed to socialism. The indissoluble alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all those engaged in physical and intellectual work, is one of the main sources and guarantees of further success in the building of communism.

Ways of Arriving at the Classless Society

As has already been stated, communist society is a society, all of whose members stand in equal relationship to the means of production, a society in which there are no classes. The transition to such a society necessarily presupposes that the difference between state (public) ownership and collective-co-operative ownership be eliminated. *The stage of developed socialism is the period during which these two forms of ownership are merged together.* Eloquent proof of this process is provided by the constant growth of the collective farms' indivisible funds which are essentially similar to state ownership. These indivisible funds constitute the means of collective-farm production: tractors, agricultural machinery, equipment, production premises,

working and farm animals. These funds have increased from 42,300 million roubles in 1965 to 101,500 million roubles in 1977, an increase of almost two and a half times.

It should be noted that the socialisation of collective-co-operative property is promoted by the formation of larger collective farms, and this process is continuing. In the level of production concentration, the collective farms have drawn noticeably closer to the state farms.

Inter-collective farm links are also increasing on the basis of joint property. Joint building organisations are being established, together with poultry farms, fattening stations, electric power stations, irrigation canals, food processing plants, food storage and transport depots, roads, etc.

Collective-co-operative ownership is also merging with state ownership. This progressive tendency reveals the objective necessity of joint efforts by the state and society as a whole in attaining nation-wide economic objectives. Agro-industrial complexes are appearing throughout the country, combining agriculture with the industrial processing of agricultural products. The fruit and vegetables from a particular state farm, for example, are delivered to a canning factory that either belongs to that state farm or is jointly owned by several agricultural enterprises. Another feature is the rational specialisation and co-operative combination of agricultural and industrial enterprises.

The present agricultural policy of the CPSU is designed to achieve two inter-related aims: first, to ensure a reliable supply of agricultural products and raw materials on a national scale and, secondly, to ensure the further elimination of differences between the material and cultural standards of life in the town and village.

To sum up, the rapprochement and final merging of state and collective-co-operative ownership into one single form of public ownership is the chief means of overcoming the still existing differences between the working class and the peasantry. This lengthy process depends for its success on the improvement of the material and technical base of agricultural production, on increased labour productivity and on better labour organisation.

The development of the material and technical base of agriculture depends, in its turn, on the training of specialists. Today collective and state farms are run by trained

specialists and amply supplied with mechanics and engineers. Of collective-farm chairmen, 93.5 per cent have either higher or complete secondary education, and among state-farm managers this figure is 98.3 per cent. Of those working in agriculture, one in five is a machine-operator. Technological progress has led to the appearance of many other trained and qualified workers in the countryside.

One of the most noteworthy features of modern village life is the rising prosperity and cultural level of the population. In this respect, the gap between town and country has been sharply reduced. The rural community is now provided with a network of secondary and vocational schools, cultural centres and libraries. Amateur arts and sport societies are also flourishing. Urban-type houses with every modern facility are no longer a rarity and nearly every household possesses a television.

The successes achieved so far are visible for all to see. However, there still remain many problems, socio-economic, cultural and those connected with everyday services, that must be solved in order to further reduce the distinctions between urban and rural life. The creation of the material and technical base of communism is also the creation of those conditions that will produce highly-cultured, conscious, physically and intellectually developed agricultural workers.

The consistent implementation of the agricultural industrialisation programme, the expansion of the rural educational system, of cultural and medical facilities, retail trade, restaurants and canteens, consumer and domestic services and the transformation of the village into a community provided with every facility and service, all constitute an important social objective reflected in the Constitution of the USSR. Moreover, this objective concerns not only the rural population but the whole Soviet people insofar as the elimination of the differences between urban and rural life is one of the chief means of constructing a classless society.

It is worth noting at this point that this process in no way presupposes the mechanical copying of urban conditions, either at work or in everyday life. A rational approach must be adopted that takes into account the specific features of rural life, and, of course, the prospects for its future development.

In order to achieve a socially homogeneous society it is extremely important to eliminate all essential differences between physical and intellectual work.

In the course of scientific and technological progress, socialist labour becomes communist in character, organically combining all the functions of the production process. Naturally, all the members of society will be well-educated, highly-cultured workers engaged in communist production, whose basic features are already forming under developed socialism.

The USSR is already implementing a comprehensive programme of mechanisation, thereby eliminating manual and heavy physical labour. Automatic loaders, capable of carrying out diverse operations directly in the workshop, are already in use. Mechanised and automated equipment is being introduced in warehouses. Semi-automated lathes and conveyors that require heavy manual labour in the subsidiary operations are being replaced by fully automated systems. Mining, wood processing, road building and land improvement, branches that are particularly labour intensive, are also being mechanised. Pre-programmed lathes are now standard equipment.

The process of automation means the introduction of new technology that can be mastered only by qualified engineers. It inevitably causes changes in the professional structure, shifting the emphasis onto knowledge and qualification. It is therefore not surprising that there has been a sharp rise in the number of engineers employed in those branches of industry that already possess a high level of automation (the coal mining, metal working, the chemical industry). There now exist enterprises (electric power stations, automated chemical plants, etc.) in which engineers and technicians constitute the bulk of the staff and carry out the functions of a production worker. Large-scale cranking equipment is operated by technicians and, in many cases, by engineers.

With the creation of the appropriate conditions, with the achievement of a particular level of development of the productive forces, socio-class distinctions are eliminated. The elimination of the distinction between physical and intellectual labour requires that automated production reach a level of development such as to exclude narrow speciali-

sation, and ensure every worker an opportunity to develop his abilities and skills to the full.

There are still various forms of work that do not require much education or training and naturally, therefore, those employed in such work are engaged mainly in physical labour. However, as the material and technical base of communism is formed, unskilled and semi-skilled labour will give way to highly productive labour based on the most advanced technology. The next generation coming into the production process will see it transformed, fully automated.

In building the new society, the Soviet people are consistently and confidently realising the aim set by the Party, that of gradually eliminating the differences between the classes and creating for all equal opportunities for education, work and life, for satisfying material, intellectual and cultural requirements.

Bourgeois ideologists, attempting to discredit the noble ideals of communism, allege that a socially homogeneous society will lead to the suppression of individuality, to the "levelling" of the talents and abilities of diverse individuals. However, social homogeneity simply means equality of opportunity for all to develop their unique gifts, talents and abilities and display to the full their individual personality. It is precisely the society that offers equal opportunity to all, that permits each to develop, form and display his individuality in his own way.

Communism as a society of equals is not a community of faceless people who think the same, feel the same and perform the same work. It has nothing in common with the crude caricature of communism that Marx once described as "barrack-style communism". Communist equality presupposes the equality of individuals who are free, possessed of a high level of culture and education, a society in which each individual is capable of revealing his own originality.

XVI. Socialism and Nationhood

The Characteristics of Socialist Nationhood

The question of nationality is basic to the life of society. The nation is an inevitable product of the bourgeois period, when the isolated nature of the feudal economy gives way to economic links binding various regions within the country and a national market is formed. Having created the nation, capitalism then establishes specific relations between the nations, relations of mistrust, enmity and oppression of one nation by another. Socialism brought radical, qualitative changes into the political, socio-economic and cultural make-up of nations and nationalities. In place of national isolation and enmity, the natural product of the capitalist system, socialism affirms the relations of friendship and co-operation among all nations, when the peoples of the world, "their differences forgotten", unite into one large family.

The transformation of the nations of capitalist society into socialist nations is of world-historic significance, indicating to all nations the solution to this difficult problem.

The socialist nation is a qualitatively new form of human community and of social links and relations. Specific ethnic characteristics such as language, culture, traditions and customs, are retained, but the political, socio-economic and intellectual life of the nation is transformed on a new, socialist basis.

All socialist nations and their component classes and social groups have equal political rights. They constitute an economic community based on the socialist method of production, which presupposes that all the working people share the same economic interests. At the same time there

arises an international economic community which unites all the people regardless of nationality at the level of the state.

Under socialism, territorial community, one of the major features of the nation, also undergoes a qualitative change. The socialist nations each have their own territory, but its boundaries do not constitute a barrier preventing continuous contact, close economic and cultural ties and the desire of representatives of the various nations to make rational use of the territory of the entire country. There is a constant process of migration, particularly into sparsely populated areas and as a result the population in every region of the country gradually becomes multinational.

In his article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", Lenin wrote: "Socialism, by organising production *without* class oppression, by ensuring the well-being of *all* members of the state, gives *full play* to the 'sympathies' of the population, thereby promoting and greatly accelerating the drawing together and fusion of the nations."¹ These words express the essence of the Leninist nationalities policy—the drawing together of the nations in the course of socialist and communist construction on the basis of economic development and the progressive advance of the social life of the socialist state.

Under socialism, two tendencies are organically fused together—on the one hand the complete development of the best national characteristics and the originality of each national culture and way of life, and on the other the drawing together of the various nations and their mutual enrichment.

The Soviet People as a Historically New Community

The emergence of the Soviet people following the Great October Revolution is a major event in modern history. During the years of socialist and communist construction in the USSR, a historically new community of people has arisen, the Soviet people, formed on the basis of the social

ownership of the means of production, economic, socio-political, and cultural unity, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the interests and communist ideals of the working class. This community, which was formed in a country with a multinational population, unites the working people of more than one hundred different nationalities and ethnic groups. It formed and developed as a multinational and international community and, therefore, *the Soviet people constitute the first international socialist community.*

The Soviet international community is a striking example of the socialist international unification of peoples and of a genuinely Leninist solution to the nationalities problem. The unity of the Soviet people was most convincingly revealed in the heroic defence of the socialist motherland. The unity and friendship of all the nationalities and ethnic groups of the USSR stood the bitter test of the Second World War. The policy and strategy of nazi Germany, aimed at dividing the Soviet nationalities, proved to be a serious miscalculation. Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Georgians and Latvians—all the peoples of the Soviet Union without exception—defended their homeland. This monolithic unity proved more powerful than any weapon.

Soviet people of every nationality are united by the legendary exploits of the shock workers of the first five-year plans and the labour epic of the restoration of the national economy after the war. The towns and villages, factories and power stations that arose out of the ashes and ruins expressed the tested friendship of the peoples of the country of Soviets. The opening up of virgin land, the realisation of building projects unprecedented in scale, the development of the northern and eastern territories are all the fruits of the combined labour of the Soviet people. The common traditions shared by all the Soviet people have been born in work and in battle. They are honoured, treasured and augmented by representatives from every nation.

This new form of community does not, of course, exclude distinctions between the nationalities. The different nationalities are not dissolved in the community, nor do they lose their independence. The increasing strength of the community represents their international unity as an integrated, living organism which does not exclude the national as

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 324.

such, but national limitation, narrowness and isolation. It promotes the selection of all that is of cultural and intellectual value and encourages the appearance of progressive traditions and the manifestation of the best features of each nationality.

The Soviet individual is not without feelings of national pride. He takes pride in the achievements of his own nation in material production, science and culture. Such pride is natural. However, Soviet people, be they Russian, Estonian, Georgian, or Azerbaijan, are characterised by a sense of pride in the Soviet people as a whole, a sentiment that is the highest manifestation of their internationalist qualities.

The formation of the Soviet people as a new, international community is an objective process that derives from the very development of this society and the socio-economic nature of the Soviet state. However, this community did not arise spontaneously but as a result of the enormous work done by the CPSU in carrying through the Leninist nationalities policy and educating the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The nationalities problem as it was bequeathed to the Soviet state by the pre-revolutionary past (the economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples in the peripheral regions of the country, the oppression of one nationality by another and national enmity) has been solved. Nonetheless, national relations continue to develop under mature socialism, bringing new problems and setting new objectives. The Party constantly keeps these problems and objectives in view, advancing solutions that meet the interests of the country as a whole as well as those of each individual republic, the interests of communist construction.

A Single Economic Complex

From the very beginning of the All-Union state, economic and cultural development, the development of Union and autonomous republics, has been achieved by strict adherence to the principle of combining the interests of the state as a whole with the interests of each individual region. In the very first state five-year plan for economic development it was stated that the USSR can develop its economy only

by taking full account of all the natural conditions and economic and national characteristics of the Union and promoting specialisation in particular regions. Only thus is it possible to ensure the highest level of social labour efficiency. This approach clearly reveals the national policy of the Soviet state.

The Party based itself upon Lenin's injunction to give major assistance to those peoples who had formerly been oppressed in order to guarantee their more rapid economic and cultural development. Prior to the revolution, Kazakhstan presented a very depressing picture. One of the most backward regions of tsarist Russia, it was deprived of any national or social rights and suffered from savage oppression at the hands of Russian autocracy, foreign concessionaires and local feudal lords. It is hard to imagine what would have been the fate of the Kazakh people without the October Revolution. The efforts made by the Party to carry through Lenin's plan of socialist construction and the fraternal aid offered by all the peoples of the country brought about unprecedented changes in this region. Modern Kazakhstan is a highly developed industrial and agricultural republic that is making important contribution in the field of science and culture. The volume of industrial production has increased 223 times in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period.

Similar successes have been achieved in Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Azerbaijan and all the other republics during the years of Soviet power.

Today, the task of bringing all the republics up to the same level of economic development has largely been achieved, they all possess considerable economic potential, modern industry and large-scale, mechanised agriculture. Each is now able to contribute to the all-Union "purse". In other words, in developed socialist society, the economic base expands and the different nationalities prosper and draw closer together, all of which opens up before them new horizons for the future.

"The economy of the USSR," declares Article 16 of the Constitution of the USSR, "is an integral economic complex comprising all the elements of social production, distribution, and exchange on its territory."

By developing the economy of the USSR as an integral

economic complex it is possible to site production rationally, plan the exploitation of natural resources, improve the socialist division of labour among the republics and correctly combine the interests of the whole state with the interests of each Soviet republic. New towns, hydroelectric stations and industrial giants have been built by the joint efforts of all the peoples of the country.

The economic and social progress of Soviet society means progress for all the Union republics. The creation of an integral economic complex within the Soviet Union has provided a solid material base for friendship and co-operation among its peoples.

The unity of the nationalities and ethnic groups within the country depends both on the internationalisation of production and on the solution of basic social problems. It requires that the political organisation of society and socialist democracy be perfected, that the working people participate still more actively in public life and that the cultural level of the population be raised still further.

The Interaction and Mutual Enrichment of National Cultures

In the first programme document of the communist movement, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels prophetically declared that in the future community of nations, the old local and national isolation and self-sufficiency would be replaced by links and interdependence in every sphere, "... as in material so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations", they wrote, "become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible..."¹

Mature socialism, by encouraging the comprehensive development of the various nationalities, imparts enormous impetus to their intellectual rapprochement and creates all the prerequisites for the establishment of a communist culture. A cultural revolution became the natural continuation

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 488.

of political revolution, bringing the working masses of the country, particularly the formerly oppressed nationalities, out of intellectual bondage, darkness and ignorance and pointing the way to knowledge, creative labour and scientific and cultural achievement.

During the years of Soviet power, the cultural life of all the peoples of the USSR has undergone tremendous change. Before the revolution, the overwhelming majority of the people were illiterate, and some nationalities did not possess a written language. Today this dark legacy of the past has been abolished forever. The Union and autonomous republics have hundreds, even thousands, of schools and a large network of secondary vocational colleges and institutes of higher education. Every Union republic has its own Academy of Sciences, a large number of research institutes and numerous cultural and other educational facilities, together with its own highly qualified specialists in every branch of the economy. Today the multinational Soviet literature "speaks" in all the languages of the peoples of the USSR.

The national cultures that form one Soviet socialist culture have all benefited from a process of mutual enrichment that is deepening with the development of society. The culture of the nationalities of the USSR is socialist in content and in the main direction of its development, diverse in its national forms and internationalist in spirit. It comprises all that is of greatest value from the traditions, culture and way of life of every nationality of the USSR. At the same time, each Soviet national culture draws not only on its own sources but also on the cultural heritage of the other fraternal peoples, influencing and enriching them in its turn.

As communist construction progresses and Marxist-Leninist philosophy takes ever deeper root in the consciousness of Soviet people, the ideological unity of all the nationalities of the country will increase and their cultures will draw still closer together.

The mass media, the regular ten-day literature and art festivals in the Union republics, visits by prominent personalities from the arts to major construction sites and large industrial and agricultural centres, film festivals, tours by theatre companies and other art groups all play an important role in developing the national cultures and drawing

them closer together. Such exchanges give rise to new literary and artistic genres and forms and provide an opportunity to acquaint a wider public with the full range of the cultural life both of individual nationalities and the country as a whole.

The cultural progress of any people is largely determined by the development of their language. In carrying through its nationalities programme, the Party ensured the full equality of all the peoples of the country in the economic, political and cultural spheres, and this was instrumental in promoting the unimpeded development of the national languages and literature.

Alongside the rapid development of the national languages, there naturally arose during the course of socialist construction the desire among all the peoples of the country to study the Russian language as an essential tool of communication and co-operation among the various nationalities. The stronger the socio-economic and cultural links between the republics, the more necessary a knowledge of the Russian language becomes.

The ideological opponents of the Soviet Union, in their attempts to drive a wedge between the Russian people and the other nationalities of the USSR, see the spread of the Russian language as a process of Russification and shed crocodile tears on this subject. However, in a society of internationalists there can be no Russification. Study of the Russian language is voluntary and, moreover, a knowledge of the Russian language does not impede but rather assists the development of national languages and culture. These zealots of national individuality say nothing of the unparalleled development of national languages in the USSR.

The CPSU has set itself the aim of further promoting the free development of the languages of the nationalities of the USSR and ensuring that each citizen is free to speak, use and teach his children any language he chooses.

The multinational socialist culture of the USSR has been formed over a period of more than sixty years thanks to the collective efforts of all the fraternal nationalities, and therefore the equal right of access to works of culture is guaranteed to all in the Constitution of the USSR. This right ensures that the achievements of Soviet and international culture housed in state and public collections are freely

available to all, that cultural and educational institutes are distributed evenly across the territory of the country, that radio and television, the cinema and the press are developed, the network of free libraries extended and cultural exchange with other countries promoted.

Internationalism—the Lodestar of the Socialist Nations

Foreign friends of the Soviet Union who come to know the Soviet way of life comment on the scale of the building programme and on the successes achieved in the economy, in culture and in education. They also speak of the friendship among the peoples living in the USSR as one of the striking features of the Soviet mode of life. Indeed, in which capitalist country can one see such close unity among different peoples, such selfless co-operation and mutual aid among peoples of different colour, different traditions and different temperaments? In the USA, where the indigenous population, the Indians, have been rounded up in reservations where they are doomed to physical, intellectual and cultural decay? In Great Britain, where civilised England for many years oppresses the Irish? In Canada or Belgium, where national enmity is constantly erupting? Nor is this surprising. Nationalism is the natural companion of the bourgeois style of life based on social injustice.

One of the basic political principles, one of the basic principles of the communist morality of the Soviet people is *internationalism*. Under socialism, internationalism is the basis for promoting the development and union of all nations and nationalities.

Developed socialism, having raised the gifts and abilities of peoples great and small to unprecedented heights, has imbued their life style with a profound sense of democracy which rejects both nationalism and chauvinism.

The Party considers the further strengthening of the union of all the nationalities of the multinational Soviet state as one of its most important objectives. It calls for patience and tact with regard to national sentiments, particularly those of the smaller nationalities, and opposes attempts to either artificially retard or accelerate the

process of internationalisation. The Party is also dealing with the question of further improving the education of Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism so as to ensure a complete rejection of the ideology of nationalism and racialism.

The vestiges of nationalism are exceptionally tenacious. They feed on lingering feelings of mistrust among various peoples, and are "fanned" in every way possible by imperialist propaganda. For this reason, the Party places great importance on the internationalist education of the working people in order to cut short any manifestation of nationalism, national arrogance and national narrow-mindedness.

The world of socialism is being built on the principle of proletarian internationalism, which presupposes the unity of the aims and interests of working people throughout the world. This principle has found expression both in the fraternal community of the socialist countries and in the unity of the various nationalities within the Soviet Union.

The successes achieved by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in solving the nationalities problem provide grounds for believing that, as the socialist nations develop and prosper and the socialist community grows in strength, the complete social homogeneity and unity of all nationalities will be achieved.

The socialist movement, wrote Lenin, "creates new and superior forms of human society in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed".¹

The future of the nations can only be visualised in connection with the building of a communist society. Contrary to the assertions of the nationalists, national differences are not eternal, just as the nations themselves are not eternal. They arose during the formation of capitalist society. Under socialism, nations of a new type emerge and reveal all their potential. In developed communist society the nations will fuse together and linguistic and other national differences will disappear.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39.

XVII. The Development of Socialist Democracy and the Consolidation of the Socialist State. The CPSU as the Leading and Guiding Force in Soviet Society

Socialist Democracy

The word "democracy", which in Greek means "the power of the people", was first coined thousands of years ago, and for thousands of years tens and hundreds of millions of people have fought and continue to fight to establish the power of the people themselves, a just and humane power. However, the word "democracy" acquired its true meaning for the first time only with the victory of the socialist revolution, as a result of the establishment of socialism.

With the transfer of state power and the means of production into the hands of the working people—the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia—the people themselves became masters of their own destiny and the principal architects of history. Although Soviet power is still young, it has proved capable of transforming over a short period of time the entire complex of social relations and of putting them on a democratic and just basis. Politics has become the affair of the masses, who now have the opportunity to decide all the most important issues of the state either directly or through their representative bodies.

Under capitalism, the word "democracy" continues to function as a mask for the exploiting classes. The bourgeoisie makes use of this word to retain power and control over the national wealth, to continue its plunder of the workers. Little is altered by the fact that the bourgeois state officially proclaims the principles of "equality" and "freedom", and is frequently obliged to accept the existence of opposition parties, including communist parties. The political domination of the bourgeoisie is maintained primarily by its ownership of the principal means of production and of the

national wealth. It also controls the organs of state power. Therefore, even the most democratic bourgeois state is, in fact, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a state in which the working masses are prevented from participating in the affairs of state.

Communists, as a consequence of the very aims that they pursue and the socialist nature of social production, are deeply interested in democracy. Lenin noted that the Party could not inaugurate communism by decree. Communism will appear when the people themselves implement it as the creation of their intelligence and will. The objectives in building communist society, such as the all-round development of the individual, the elimination of essential differences between intellectual and physical labour, between town and countryside, and the transition to communist social self-government, cannot be reached by command from above but only by the direct participation of millions and millions of individuals.

Equally important in this respect is the fact that socialism itself is impossible without democracy, without the active participation of the masses in the administration of state and public affairs. In a socialist society, as in any society, the development of the economic base and that of the political and ideological superstructure are closely inter-related. Socialist society is an integrated socio-economic and political system and its successful operation and development is due not only to the advantages of the social nature of the socialist economy but also to the superiority of socialist political organisation over bourgeois political organisation, to the successful formation of the new man and the active participation of millions of workers in state and public management.

On the basis of the first steps taken by Soviet power, Lenin declared that this "is corroboration of one of the most profound and at the same time most simple and comprehensible precepts of Marxism. The greater the scope and extent of historical events, the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we raise an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary. In the final analysis, the reason

our revolution has left all other revolutions far behind is that, through the Soviet form of government it has aroused tens of millions of people, formerly uninterested in state development, to take an active part in the work of building up the state".¹

The Political System of Socialist Society

The political system of socialism, as has been shown by the many years of experience acquired by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, constitutes a mighty force. It is a well-articulated system of supreme and local organs of political power, of government and management of society and the state, which incorporates the ideological and political vanguard of society, *the Communist Party, together with the Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the co-operatives and other mass associations of the working people and work collectives*. Just as the economic system of society ultimately determines where power resides, so also the political system, the organs of power and social management, are able to exert enormous influence on the course and nature of economic and social development and on social consciousness. On them depends to a large extent the rate, volume and quality of production, the housing programme, the steady increase in living standards, the development of education, medical services etc. For this reason the ruling Marxist-Leninist Parties have called for the all-round development of the political system of the socialist countries and of socialist democracy. Improving of socialist democracy means, first and foremost, ensuring an ever broader participation of the working people in the management of all public affairs, the further development of the democratic foundations of the state and the creation of the conditions necessary for the all-round development of the individual.

The socio-political and ideological unity of the peoples of the socialist countries and the common interest of all the working people in steady progress along the road to social-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 498.

ism and communism together constitute a powerful source of strength for the socialist political system. While capitalist states are shaken by political crises, the struggle for power and frequent changes of government, the socialist system is distinguished by political stability and social dynamism.

As socialist construction is completed and society proceeds towards communism, the entire system of socialist people's power reaches a qualitatively new level, and this occurs not only because the social base of state power broadens and becomes genuinely popular, but also because the very course of events demands it. In order to carry out the complex and important tasks of socialist and communist construction, society must be highly organised, the system of management improved and popular power further consolidated. Success is only possible when the Communist Party, the central and local organs of power and public organisations co-ordinate the efforts of the people, all its classes and social groups, all its nationalities and different age groups, and direct them to the solution of common and individual tasks. Such united effort is of major importance in the successful mobilisation and rational use of all the material, physical and intellectual resources of society.

Whatever sphere of life is considered, be it material production, culture, the distribution of material, intellectual and cultural goods, the education of the new man, the maintenance of social order, or national defence, socialist government and management plays a crucially important role and must be constantly improved to meet the demands of the day. This can be clearly seen from the example of any country of the socialist community, and in particular from the experience of the Soviet Union.

The Constitution of Developed Socialism

The new Constitution of the USSR, adopted by the Supreme Soviet on 7 October, 1977, confirms in law the building of a developed socialist society and serves as the legal foundation for further increasing the effectiveness of the organisation of the Soviet state and society. It provided for

a considerable increase in the powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies at every level, together with those of public organisations and work collectives, in every sphere of political and public activity, and also extended the rights of the citizens in the management of society and the state. In so doing, the Fundamental Law of the USSR stimulated the further development of socialist people's power and established the conditions necessary for the successful completion of the process of communist construction. The new Constitution of the USSR is active and effective.

The CPSU intends to ensure that every statute, every article of the Constitution is translated into practice by state bodies and public organisations, by every work collective, public official and citizen. They are called upon to measure their activity and way of life against the principles and standards laid down in the Constitution and to evaluate their successes and failings according to the spirit and the letter of the new Fundamental Law of the USSR.

The very first decrees issued by Lenin, and the first Soviet constitutions differed radically from the majority of bourgeois declarations of rights, which officially proclaimed certain principles. The Soviet constitutions could be described as consisting of working laws born of the need to carry through decisive and revolutionary changes in the entire social and state system and to establish new social relations. The Constitution of the RSFSR promulgated in 1918 gave the force of law to the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution: the transfer of power into the hands of the workers and peasants as represented by the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, and the nationalisation of factories, railways, banks, mines and land. It abolished all the social privileges previously enjoyed by the exploiter classes and proclaimed the principle "He who does not work neither shall he eat". It also affirmed the principle of national equality. These and other principles laid down in the Constitution created the legal basis for the building of socialism.

The Constitution of the USSR promulgated in 1924 gave legal expression to the voluntary and equal union of the Soviet Republics into a single federative state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This Constitution also laid down the principles underlying the federal structure and

the forms it could assume. The implementation of these principles and forms led to the stable and fraternal union of the different nationalities of the USSR, to their development and drawing closer together. The Constitution of 1936, having fixed in law the victory of the fundamental principles of socialism and such major achievements as the elimination of the exploiter classes and the triumph of socialist ownership of the means of production, inaugurated a corresponding restructuring of the entire system of state power and management, introduced changes into the electoral system for Soviets at every level, and extended the rights of the citizens, placing the main emphasis upon the material and legal guarantees securing these rights.

The Constitution promulgated in 1977 confirmed in law that a new stage had been reached in the progress towards communism—the building of a developed socialist society and the development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people, defining its aims, objectives and structure under mature socialism. The Constitution also enshrined the position and role of the Communist Party, mass organisations and work collectives in the political system of socialism, raising the relationship between the state and the individual to a new level, increasing on the one hand state concern for the individual and on the other further extending the rights of the citizens in the management of public and state affairs. The new Constitution thus made possible a fuller manifestation and utilisation of the advantages of socialism.

The new Constitution gives clear expression to the following principles:

The rule of the people, based on the alliance of all the working people, led by the working class;

The leading role of the CPSU in society and the state;

—the rule of socialist social ownership, founded upon state property (belonging to all the people);

—the people's exercise of state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the state. Other organs of state are under the control of and accountable to these Soviets;

—the organisation of state and public life on the principle of democratic centralism;

—socialist humanism;

—concern by the state and the whole of society for the all-round development of the individual;

—socialist legality and guaranteed civil rights and freedoms;

—socialist internationalism and the building of a Soviet multi-national state on the basis of socialist federation and autonomy.

The main direction in the development of the political system of Soviet society is defined in the Constitution as the extension of socialist democracy. This presupposes "ever broader participation of citizens in managing the affairs of society and the state, continuous improvement of the machinery of state, heightening of the activity of public organisations, strengthening of the system of people's control, consolidation of the legal foundations of the functioning of the state and of public life, greater openness and publicity, and constant responsiveness to public opinion" (Article 9).

The Socialist State of the Whole People

The socialist state of the whole people is a sovereign organisation expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, the will of the entire people. The Constitution of the USSR clearly defines the objectives of the Soviet state. The preamble declares: "The main aims of the peoples' socialist state are: to lay the material and technical foundation of communism, to perfect socialist social relations and transform them into communist relations, to mould the citizen of communist society, to raise the people's living and cultural standards, to safeguard the country's security, and to further the consolidation of peace and the development of international co-operation."

The people exercise state power through Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR. All other organs of state are under the control of and accountable to the Soviet of People's Deputies. This is one of the basic principles of socialist rule by the people.

The Soviet state of the whole people exercises the following functions:

First and foremost *it exercises power in the name of the people and on behalf of the people throughout the entire territory of the country.* Basing itself upon the Soviets of People's Deputies and with the assistance of the state organs at every level, the state conducts a policy aimed at building a communist society by promulgating and implementing appropriate laws, establishing other legal norms regulating socialist social relations.

Another important function of the state is the *economic and organisational* function, i.e., economic control and management. In a socialist society, all the major means of production, all natural resources belong to the people, who are represented by the state. The land, mineral resources, waters and forests are the exclusive property of all the people, who also own the basic means of production in industry, building and agriculture, the means of transport and communication, the banks, the property of state-run trading enterprises and public utilities, and other state-run undertakings, the main housing fund and any other property essential to communist construction. The scope and complexity of the economic and organisational function of the state can be judged by the fact that today the Soviet state manages an economy that is second in the world in terms of volume of production and which includes hundreds of thousands of large-scale industrial and agricultural enterprises.

No other body is capable of replacing the organs of state in running the national economy. They have at their disposal a diversified apparatus of management and qualified staff in every branch of the economy. In the very first years of the Soviet state Lenin declared that socialism is unthinkable "without planned state organisation which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a unified standard in production and distribution".¹ From then onwards *planning became an indispensable condition of socialist economic management.*

The principles of planned economic management formulated by Lenin have been further developed at the present stage. Planning has been put on a more scientific footing and co-ordination between the various branches of the economy has been improved and rationalised. Current economic plans are now worked out on the basis of the long-term plans for the national economy. Centralised planning is being more effectively combined with an extension of the rights of enterprises and groups of enterprises (associations) to exercise their initiative in solving practical problems.

The main objective of the economic and organisational function of the Soviet state is to raise economic effectiveness and the quality of production by applying the achievements of scientific and technological progress, improving the forms and methods of economic management and extending socialist democracy within the national economy.

The social function of the state has acquired unparalleled importance. Here the main objective is to ensure the full and consistent satisfaction of the growing material and intellectual and cultural needs of society and to regulate the measure of labour and consumption by consistent application of the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work". The Soviet state is concerned with improving the conditions of work and work safety, with providing medical services and social security, with organising retail trade and public catering, with housing, communal services and amenities.

In pursuing the numerous objectives involved in social development, including such major tasks as the elimination of the essential differences between town and country and between intellectual and physical labour, and promoting the social homogeneity of society, the Soviet state of the whole people is guided by the communist ideal: "The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."

While preserving the civil rights and freedoms previously fixed in law, the Fundamental Law of the USSR has deepened their content and supplemented them with new ones in accord with the conditions and possibilities of developed socialism. It guarantees, for example, the right of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tax in Kind", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 334.

every citizen to housing and to health protection, his right to enjoy the common cultural heritage, to participate in the management and administration of state and public affairs, to criticise shortcomings, etc. The Constitution also clearly defines the state guarantees of civil rights and freedoms.

Recent years have seen an increase in the *cultural and educational function of the state*. This includes the development of the public education system as a whole and, in particular, the provision of universal secondary education. It also includes the provision of vocational training and specialised secondary, and higher education. The state also concerns itself with the development of science, culture and art, with setting up the necessary scientific and research institutes and assisting in the organisation of their activity. The Soviet state gives every assistance to the development of literature and art, the theatre and the cinema.

The manifold activity of the Soviet state is directed at creating favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual and the education of its citizens in the spirit of socialist morality and communist ideals.

The maintenance and consolidation of socialist legality and order continues to be one of the main functions of the state. A society built on the principles of justice and humanity cannot acquiesce to the violation of the norms that govern its life or to any encroachment upon the legitimate interests and rights of both citizens and the state. The rights and freedoms that obtain in a socialist state have nothing in common with the anarchist concept of "absolute freedom". Socialist democracy cannot be implemented without strict discipline and the necessary maintenance of order. Naturally, therefore, the Soviet state cannot allow talk of freedom to be used to screen attempts to harm national interests or infringe upon the rights and freedoms of its citizens. For this reason it calls for the necessary order to be instituted wherever it is violated, for this reason the organs of state take the steps necessary to protect socialist property, the rights and legitimate interests of the individual and human dignity, pursue a policy of crime prevention and take firm measures to deal with swindlers, parasites, hooligans and all those who encroach upon the property of the people or violate socialist law and order.

The Soviet state operates according to *the principle of*

equal rights and obligations for all its citizens. In accord- ing a wide range of rights and freedoms to its citizens, the socialist state requires that each respect the law, the national interests, the interests of individual work collectives and fulfil his obligations to society and the state.

Strict adherence to the law and the fulfilment by every citizen of his obligations to society, the state and the work collective is an indispensable condition of the normal functioning of the state and the economy. Attempts by bourgeois propaganda to present the struggle of the Soviet state to strengthen discipline and public order as a "violation of human rights" in the USSR appear ridiculous when viewed in the context of Soviet democracy. Such attempts have led rather to results contrary to those intended, revealing yet more vividly the social ills of capitalism itself.

Another basic function of the Soviet state is *to create favourable external conditions for the building of communism*. This means ensuring the appropriate level of national defence, developing all-round co-operation with the countries of socialist community, pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence with states having different social systems, conducting a consistent struggle for peace throughout the world and giving every assistance to the developing countries and peoples fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The functions of the Soviet state are characterised first and foremost by constructive activity, by the organisation of the process of building communism. The task of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes ended with their disappearance, while those functions linked with the satisfaction of the constantly growing material and intellectual and cultural requirements of the Soviet people and the implementation and protection of human rights have undergone a broad expansion. The Soviet state relies in its activity upon methods of persuasion, organisation and material and moral incentive. However, the Soviet state, like any power, also uses compulsion, the binding force of its laws when necessary.

The considerable prestige enjoyed by the Soviet state of the whole people springs from its truly popular nature, the correctness of its policy and the full support it receives from the people. The unity of all the classes and social

strata in Soviet society, of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, constitutes the solid social base upon which rests the rule of the Soviet people.

As has been already noted, the present need to preserve, strengthen and develop the state is dictated by internal and external conditions in which Soviet society exists. Moreover, as is stated in the Constitution of the USSR, "The supreme goal of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society in which there will be public, communist self-government." This means that a socialist state conducts its activity in such a way as to promote the creation of the conditions necessary for the withering away of the state during the process of communist construction. The state will wither away when the causes of its existence disappear, when the functions of the state are assumed by communist self-government. This is a lengthy process.

How communist self-government will constitute itself in practice will be revealed in the process itself. However, it can be supposed that the withering away of the state will not take the form of a mechanical reduction in the range of activities carried out by the organs of state, will not consist in their consecutive elimination. Rather there will be a gradual change in the entire political system. Communist public self-government will, as it were, integrate and unite some of the functions of the Communist Party as the core of the political system, with some of the functions of the socialist state and public organisations.

The Soviets of People's Deputies

The central element of the entire political system of the USSR is, as has already been stated, the Soviets of People's Deputies—the most comprehensive and sovereign organisation of the Soviet people. The Soviets combine together features of state and public organisations and have grown in political and organisational strength over the years of socialist construction, increasing their influence on various spheres of public life.

Under the Constitution of the USSR the Soviets as the sovereign organs of state power, are to deal with all issues

of both all-Union and local significance in their territory and to co-ordinate and supervise, within the limits of their competence, the work of all enterprises and organisations regardless of their departmental subordination.

The system of Soviets of People's Deputies in the USSR at present includes: The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics, and the Soviets of Territories, Regions, Autonomous Regions, Autonomous Areas, districts, cities, city districts, settlements and rural communities. This system of Soviets comprises around 2.3 million deputies and, as this body of deputies is constantly renewed, tens of millions of individuals pass through this school of government. One of the distinguishing features of Soviet popular government is the fact that at every level, including that of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the majority of deputies are workers and peasants. This is not true of any bourgeois parliament. In recent years the number of women deputies has reached 49 per cent. The deputies' educational level and competence have also risen.

The Soviets are playing an increasingly active role in economic and cultural development, in raising living standards, in improving public services and amenities and strengthening socialist legality. The Constitution of the USSR declares that "Soviets of People's Deputies shall direct all sectors of state, economic, and social and cultural development, either directly or through bodies instituted by them, take decisions and ensure their execution, and verify their implementation" (Article 93).

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics are particularly active in the legislative sphere. Over recent years the Supreme Soviet of the USSR prepared and adopted, with active public participation, a whole series of legislative measures affecting important areas of social relations. These include the Fundamentals of Land Legislation, the Fundamentals of Legislation on Water Resources and Mineral Resources, the Law on Universal Military Service, the Fundamentals of Legislation on Marriage and the Family, the Fundamentals of Labour Legislation, the Fundamentals of Public Health Legislation and Legislation on Education, the Law on the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and others.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics have increased their control over the work of ministries and departments; the highest organs of state play a more important role in elaborating short- and long-term state plans, drawing up the state budget and supervising its implementation. The increasing activity of the Soviets at every level and their growing influence on social development are greatly promoted by the work of standing commissions of the Soviets dealing with different branches of the national economy, culture and foreign policy. The Soviets of People's Deputies also rely upon the valuable help of over 30 million Soviet citizens who act as non-staff assistants.

An important principle of socialist democracy is the accountability of the Soviets and their deputies and all organs of state authority and administration to the working people, and also the accountability of executive organs to the representative organs, the Soviets.

Public Organisations

The Soviet political system is not confined to the activity of the state and state organs. The Soviet state works in close co-operation with the mass public organisations of the working people—the trade unions, the Komsomol, co-operatives and others—which also actively participate in the management of society. The Constitution of the USSR declares that "Trade Unions, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, Co-operatives, and other public organisations, participate, in accordance with the aims laid down in their rules, in managing state and public affairs, and in deciding political, economic, and social and cultural matters" (Article 7).

Soviet *trade unions* include in their ranks the majority of the working people of town and country—125 million people—and are playing an increasingly active role in the life of Soviet society and in communist construction. The trade unions have long since gone beyond so-called "defence functions". One of the hallmarks of Soviet trade unions is that they participate directly and actively in the development of society as a whole, in raising the level of

production, improving its efficiency and running the national economy.

Soviet trade unions are an integral part of the political organisation of Soviet society. They assist the Party in drawing the working people into the management of production, in inculcating a socialist attitude to work and social property, in improving working and living conditions, in raising the cultural level of the people and providing leisure facilities.

The two main functions of Soviet trade unions—promoting the further development of socialist production and defending the rights and interests of the working people under socialism—are indissolubly united. The trade unions work towards increasing production, improving labour productivity and discipline by using socialist emulation, workers' initiative in production and technology and other methods that have proved themselves in practice, thus making possible further improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people and their material and cultural standards.

Soviet trade unions have the right to represent their members before any organ of state in discussing questions concerning the organisation of production and labour, social maintenance and the provision of public services and amenities. They invariably participate in drawing up laws, directives and collective agreements regulating conditions of work and leisure, manage the social maintenance system, ensure the observance of labour legislation and the rules and regulations governing safety and labour protection.

Plans for developing production are drawn up and implemented jointly by the management and the trade unions, just as the appointment and dismissal of managerial staff—directors, their deputies, chief specialists, workshop managers, etc., are consulted with them. The trade unions act decisively whenever the interests and social needs of the workers or the socialist principles of management are involved. They receive constant support from both Party and state organs in defending the rights of the working people from abuses by individual economic administrators.

The trade unions also work together with economic organs in carrying through measures to increase pay and ma-

terial incentives and to improve the rate-setting system. They bear a large share of the responsibility for further improving working conditions by increasing the level of mechanisation and automation, applying new technology and ensuring adherence to the norms of hygiene at work.

The trade unions do enormous and varied work in providing cultural and communal services and organising holidays and leisure facilities for their members, and have at their disposal the necessary material resources and staff.

Soviet trade unions, which use their extensive rights and opportunities to influence the organisation of labour and production and to educate and develop the working people, constitute an important and effective part of socialist democracy.

The Constitution of the USSR accords an important role in the system of socialist popular government to the *work collectives*. These collectives are the basic cell of the socialist organism, and assume an ever more prominent position in the socio-political life of the people, in promoting economic and social progress as the Soviet country develops. The elaboration of a general state plan for the economic development begins at the level of the work collective and on it depends to a large degree the efficiency of the enterprise, the particular branch of the economy and the economy as a whole.

The functions of the work collective include the development of socialist emulation, the spread of advanced methods of work, the strengthening of labour discipline, the education of its members in the spirit of communist morality, promoting the level of their political awareness and raising their cultural and professional standards. The work collectives play an essential role in deciding state and local affairs and in production management and they are widely represented in party and state organs up to and including the highest level.

Highly effective forms of work collective participation in economic management have been developed, based on conferences of industrial workers, collective farmers and white collar workers, permanent production conferences, groups and posts of people's control, etc. Millions of Soviet workers are thus educated in socialist management, become accustomed to management practice, learn to approach any

issue from a national viewpoint and to use their abilities and initiative.

The *All-Union Leninist Young Communist League* also plays an important role in Soviet society and the Soviet political system. It gives active support to the CPSU in its political leadership and education of the young generation and in drawing it into the work of creating the new society. If one remembers that a large proportion of the population of the USSR is under 30 years of age, that more than 30 million young people are working in the national economy and that the ranks of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, are replenished largely from amongst the youth, the importance of the Komsomol in the development of Soviet society, both as a leader of the young and as an independent youth organisation, is clear.

The Komsomol has enormous potential and is making a major contribution to the common cause. Millions of its members are working in all the basic branches of the economy, in the cultural sphere and in state and public management. The right of the Komsomol to participate in the management of state and public affairs and in the solution of political, economic and social and cultural questions is now recorded in the Constitution of the USSR. Members of the Komsomol and young people are active in all representative organs, including the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Over 700 thousand young people sit on trade union committees and 700 thousand are deputies to the Soviets. Over one million Komsomol members participate directly in the work of the organs of people's control.

The *collective farms* and other *co-operative organisations* constitute an important link not only in the Soviet national economy but also in the political system. The USSR has around 27 thousand collective farms with over 14 million agricultural workers who produce roughly 40 per cent of the total agricultural output. As voluntary and independent producers' co-operative organisations whose activity is based on socialist principles, the collective farms have proved themselves to be fine schools of public self-government. The collective farm, by virtue of its organisation, its democratic principles, constitutes an economic unit where production is managed by the collective farm workers them-

selves, where their creative initiative is encouraged and where they are educated in the spirit of communism.

Collective farm councils that have recently been established at district, regional, territorial and republican level, as well as at the centre, have proved an effective means of ensuring collective farm democracy and participation in state affairs. These councils help to identify and take account of the interests of the collective farms and the specifics of the work and way of life of the collective farmers, and also help in carrying through a broad programme of co-operation between collective farms and in directing collective-farm development on the basis of a harmonious combination of collective-farm and national, all-Union interests.

People's Control

Lenin wrote that "until the 'higher' phase of communism arrives, the socialists demand the *strictest* control by society and *by the state* over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption . . ."¹ Acting on the basis of this Leninist principle, a principle vindicated by the whole development of Soviet society, an important place has been assigned to people's control within the Soviet political system, in the management of all state and public affairs.

The core of the people's control system, which combines state and public control, are the groups and posts of people's control. These are set up by work collectives on the basis of elections at all industrial enterprises, building sites, collective and state farms, institutes and organisations. Altogether there are over 650 thousand groups of people's control and about as many posts throughout the country, and the total number of people involved is more than 9.5 million. The committees of people's control at town, district, regional and republican level, as well as the Committee of People's Control of the USSR, are created by the Soviets of People's Deputies and those elected to them are selected from among the most respected representatives of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 474-75.

the industrial, agricultural and office workers, both Communists and those who are not party members.

Thus in a socialist society control, and, moreover, comprehensive control, is exercised by the people themselves.

The work undertaken by the bodies of people's control is wide-ranging and of great importance. The Constitution of the USSR states that they "shall check on the fulfilment of state plans and assignments, combat breaches of state discipline, localistic tendencies, narrow departmental attitudes, mis-management, extravagance and waste, red tape and bureaucracy, and help improve the working of the state machinery" (Article 92). The organs of people's control have been accorded all the rights necessary to carry out their work and they are making a major contribution to the improvement of economic management, raising production efficiency and quality, and strengthening state discipline. They are also helping to improve the work of the state and economic apparatus, to economise national resources worth hundreds of millions of roubles and ensure the observation of socialist legality.

In this way the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state and on socialist democracy is being put into effect in the Soviet state.

The CPSU—Leader of the Soviet People

The developed socialist society that has been created in the Soviet Union is the result of the purposeful and truly heroic labour of the whole people under the leadership of the Communist Party, which inspired and organised the broad working masses in carrying through radical social changes and achieving ambitious objectives. The Leninist party led the way in building the material-technical base of socialism and communism, in shaping new social relations and in educating the new man. The Party was able to unite and direct to a single end the material resources, work force, hearts and minds of society. Today no one doubts that without the CPSU it would have been impossible to build a developed socialist society that has powerful productive forces and is a leader in science and culture, a society in which the material well-being of the people

is constantly improving and conditions for the all-round development of the individual are ever more favourable. *The constitutional affirmation of the leading role of the Party, its basic functions and methods of party leadership* is an expression of socialist reality, of the outstanding role played by the Communist Party in the life of Soviet society. The Constitution of the USSR declares: "The leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organisations and public organisations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people. The Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, directs the great constructive work of the Soviet people, and imparts a planned, systematic and theoretically substantiated character to their struggle for the victory of communism" (Article 6).

Anti-communist propaganda has expended much time and effort in its attempts to prove that the Communist Party "imposed" its leadership on Soviet society. In the eight-volume encyclopedia *Marxism, Communism and Western Society*, published in the USA in the 1970s, so-called sovietologists once again attempted to present communist party leadership as "illegal in origin" and a phenomenon alien to democracy. However, such gross distortions of reality cannot convince anyone who is in any way familiar with the facts and the history of the Soviet people's struggle for socialism.

The Communist Party emerged as the leader in the course of many years of revolutionary activity and the determined struggle of the working class and its allies for socialism and communism, a struggle in which the Party of Lenin always assumed the role of political vanguard and leader. The Party has everything it needs for its complex task. It is the highest form of the class organisation of the proletariat and unites the most progressive social forces—the most mature representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. It bases itself upon the only scientific world view—Marxism-Leninism.

For more than sixty years the Party has been not only the standard-bearer but also the practical organiser of a

revolutionary renaissance and has thus earned the deep respect and acknowledgment of the people.

The Communist Party is linked to every section of society by innumerable and reliable bonds. Its Leninist ideology and policy attract and unite around it the whole of the Soviet people. The party leadership defines the immediate goal, and political and practical line of work for the Communists, the Komsomol members and all the Soviet people. This helps the individual to achieve genuine self-expression and to become an active fighter for the happiness of the working people.

During the period of developed socialism, the CPSU has considerably increased its own scope for action in achieving the goals of the working class, for, having become the party of the whole people, it now rests upon the broadest possible social base and is supported by the growing community of interests and outlook uniting all Soviet people, by the powerful economic, intellectual and cultural potential of Soviet society and by a comprehensively developed political system.

The experience of developing and perfecting the political system of Soviet society has shown that the efficiency of state and mass public organisations, the role they play in the life of Soviet society, the efficiency of every work collective is directly dependent upon the leadership given by the Party, its central and local organs and primary party organisations. In ensuring the correct approach to solving urgent problems of social and state development, much depends on the *nature of the relations between the ruling party and state and public organisations*.

The merit and advantage of the Soviet political system undoubtedly lie in the fact that relations between the Communist Party and state and public organisations *are not administrative but democratic*. Such democratic relations follow from the socio-political nature of the Party as the ideological and political vanguard of the Soviet people, and from the essential nature of socialism.

The whole activity of the CPSU is based on the realisation that as the leader and guide of a socialist society, as the core of the political system, it is fulfilling a historical role that carries with it great responsibility and the obligation to constantly raise the level of party leadership and

improve the *style, methods and forms of party work* at every level. This sense of responsibility imbues the daily efforts of the Central Committee of the CPSU, local party organs and primary party organisations. Communists working in state and public organisations have been set the task of setting the tone of work, rendering them every assistance and ensuring the implementation of the party line in every sphere of state and public life. The Party believes that every Communist who is a trade-union member should participate in all trade-union activities. It demands high standards from Communists elected to trade-union bodies and teaches them to value the trust of the people and justify it in their activity. The same demands are made of Communists working in Soviets, in the state apparatus, in the Komsomol, in co-operatives and other mass organisations of the working people, in the press, etc. In raising the standards it demands of its members, in listening to their reports on their work in state and public organisations and institutions, party organisations also assist them in both word and deed.

The Party increases its role in society and its influence upon social development by constantly consolidating its ranks and improving its own internal organisation. It abides strictly by the *principle of collectivity in party leadership*. Every major issue is examined in leading party organs and primary party organisations not by one man or by a small group of leading party members, but by democratic party forums: party congresses held at the all-Union and republican level and by party conferences held at the regional, district, town and local level, where the final word belongs to the plenipotentiary representatives of the party membership, the delegates who have been chosen from among the most competent and the most respected.

Party meetings or conferences of work collectives are attended either by all the members of the party organisation or, if the party organisation is very large, by their representatives or delegates.

No other method of examining and solving basic questions within the Party other than the collective method is permitted. In this way the Party prevents manifestations of subjectivism or arbitrary action. For the Party to exercise its leadership of the political system correctly every Com-

munist is guaranteed the right to freely discuss questions relating to the policy and practical activity of the Party at party meetings, conferences and congresses, at party committee meetings and in the party press, the right to make suggestions, criticise, express and defend his opinion up to the moment when the party organisation makes its decision, and the right to appeal to the party leading bodies at any level, up to and including the Central Committee of the CPSU, and demand an answer on the issue involved.

The participation of every Communist in drawing up and implementing party policy is the prime component of the *democracy* that is characteristic of the CPSU. Its *centralism* means that a single political line, which has been given its most concise and precise expression in the decisions of the party congresses and its Central Committee, is pursued by every organisation and every Communist throughout the country. *The harmonious combination of democracy and centralism gave rise to the principle of democratic centralism, which is the basis of the organisational structure and activity of the Leninist Party.* This principle means that all leading party organs are elected from below and must periodically give an account of their activity to the party membership; it means strict party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority, and it means that the decisions of party organs at a higher level are binding upon those at a lower level.

Primary party organisations, the vanguard of the work collectives and the ones concerned with the practical solution of the major issues of communist construction, carry particular responsibility for implementing party policy. At the level of such primary party organisations, success depends largely on the ideological commitment, adherence to principle, political activity and hard work of each party member and candidate member.

The leading role of the Communist Party in socialist society is therefore a highly democratic and progressive phenomenon. The CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist community are fulfilling their historical mission with honour and are the animating spirit of socialist government by the people.

XVIII. The Education of the New Man and the All-Round Development of the Individual

The Individual Under Developed Socialism

Scientific communism is a teaching on a society whose highest aim is to shape individuals of great cultural and intellectual wealth and all-round development. Marx's ideas concerning the all-round perfection of the individual as the goal of communist society, ideas that were further elaborated by Lenin, are being successfully put into practice in the USSR. The Soviet man, who combines ideological conviction, enormous vitality and a constant drive to improve his level of knowledge and culture, is one of the major achievements of the Great October Revolution.

The building of communism would be impossible without the increasing participation of people who are well equipped both educationally and culturally. Therefore under mature socialism such personal qualities as a creative attitude to work, a conscious sense of discipline and responsibility, wide-ranging requirements and interests, social involvement, a desire for knowledge, the habit of logical thought are of increasing importance.

During the period of mature socialism, socialist society is achieving in practice the main economic objective of communist construction, which is to create the material and technical base of communism. The material and technical base is, from both the historical and social point of view, a qualitatively new phenomenon, and its construction is a complex and wide-ranging task demanding much effort and time. A qualitatively new level in the development of the productive forces, a radical change in the technology of production processes and in the organisation of production, labour and management must be achieved using the latest

scientific and technological advances. This in turn will make it possible to perfect production and other relations between people and to satisfy more fully their growing requirements.

The Party believes that the key to the successful fulfilment of the new economic and social plans lies primarily in further stimulating the creativity and initiative of the Soviet people and in raising the level of their political awareness and labour productivity. For this reason the intellectual and cultural development of the working people and their communist education become a prime consideration.

The Fundamental Law of the USSR gives full expression to this concern for the individual and the desire to provide the citizen with greater opportunity to use his creative energies and abilities. The Soviet state ensures a constant growth in material well-being and provides for the preservation, increase and wide application of the cultural and intellectual values necessary to the ideological, moral and aesthetic education of the working people.

The dynamic development of the economy and of Soviet society as a whole has made it possible to adopt a comprehensive approach to the problem of satisfying the growing material, cultural and intellectual requirements of the Soviet people. The last five-year plans clearly reveal the social purpose to which economic development is directed, its humanist aims. The people have greater opportunities to receive education and engage in self-education. The USSR is gradually establishing a way of life directed towards the all-round development of the individual in which material well-being serves as the basis for intellectual and cultural improvement.

The intellectual and cultural potential of the Soviet people is rich and diverse. This is explained both by the wealth of socialist culture and the variety of individual requirements. Literature, art, education, science and ethics are all integral parts of culture. The individual who possesses a knowledge of only one of these and, consciously or unconsciously, cut himself off from the rest, cannot consider himself to be a man of culture, able to work creatively and meet the needs of our times. Thus with every passing year millions of working people show a growing desire to raise

their educational and cultural level. The Soviet people are rightly described as the most avid readers in the whole world. The publication of scientific, social and political literature and fiction is steadily increasing. In 1978 alone, the number of books and pamphlets published totalled 1,900 million. The USSR has more than 130 thousand public libraries with over 1,700 million books, and its cinemas, theatres and concert halls have the highest attendance in the world.

The Soviet people enjoy wide access to world art and literature. The USSR maintains cultural contacts with more than 120 countries and every year it purchases and hires out 60-70 films from the socialist countries and about the same number from capitalist countries. The Soviet Union regularly occupies first position in the world for the number of translated works it publishes and the size of the editions. Theatre companies, orchestras and groups visit the USSR, and art exhibitions are frequently organised.

In the USSR, the right of the citizens to enjoy cultural achievements is guaranteed in the Constitution and this right is ensured in practice by making the treasures of national and international culture gathered together in state and public collections available to all, by extending the network of cultural and educational facilities equally throughout the country, by developing the mass media, increasing the number of free public libraries and expanding cultural exchange with foreign countries.

Whatever the problems the Soviet state is called upon to resolve, be they economic or socio-political, it always links them closely to the task of educating the working people and avails itself of the enormous intellectual and cultural potential of the socialist system, its ideology, morality and culture.

It is particularly important to inculcate in the broad working masses the Marxist-Leninist scientific world outlook. This provides the individual with an integrated outlook, equips him with the theoretical and methodological principles on which to base his analysis of reality. It also gives him a clear understanding of the ultimate aims and ideals of the social struggle and the ways and means of achieving them. This world outlook is closely connected with an attitude to work and with the motivating forces be-

hind labour activity. The desire of the Soviet people to bring the maximum advantage to society and the state becomes for them a necessity of life itself.

One's world outlook also has a profound influence upon moral principles. The Soviet people regard as an irrefutable truth the proposition that communist morality is based on the struggle to strengthen and perfect communism and realise its ideals. *The Marxist-Leninist world outlook is the chief aspect of the many-sided process of upbringing and education.* In his report on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, Leonid Brezhnev spoke of this clearly and graphically when he said: "One of our primary tasks is to foster in our citizens a desire to attain great social goals, ideological conviction and a truly creative attitude to work. This is a very important area of struggle for communism; and the course of economic construction and the country's socio-political development will be increasingly dependent on the successes in this area."

The construction in the USSR of a developed socialist society, the enormous increase in the material and intellectual and cultural level of the population, the successes achieved by the Party and the Government in their struggle for peace and international co-operation, for freedom and independence for all the peoples of the world, have created a wide range of opportunities for achieving the policy objectives of the CPSU concerning the development of communist awareness among the people. These aims consist in cultivating in all the working people a high level of ideological commitment and dedication to their socialist motherland and the cause of communism, a communist attitude to work and social property, the total elimination of any vestiges of bourgeois mentality and morality, the all-round and harmonious development of the individual and the creation of a truly rich culture.

Developed socialism is fully confirming the accuracy of Lenin's proposition that the state is strong in the awareness of the masses, that it is strong when the masses know everything, are able to judge everything and always act consciously. *The creation of such mass awareness is the aim of the ideological and political-educational work of the Party.*

Ways and Means of Educating the Fully Developed Individual

The educational process requires that the individual himself actively participate, that he master the various forms of activity and the methods of acquiring a practical and theoretical grasp of the world that are characteristic of a given society and culture. Developed socialism creates all the conditions necessary for such active participation, and therefore enables the citizen to use his own creative energy and abilities.

The education of the new man as a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual is also a planned process that is consciously directed by the Communist Party. The basic objectives of the ideological and educational work of the Party at the present stage were defined at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, which indicated the methods to be used in raising the ideological level and efficiency of this work. These methods constitute *an integrated approach to the whole process of education—an education that combines political, moral and vocational training and takes into account the specific characteristics of different groups among the working people.*

In implementing the decision of the party congress, the CPSU Central Committee adopted resolutions on the experience gained from an integrated approach to questions of ideological-educational work, on the objectives of information and propaganda, on increasing the role of oral political propaganda, on measures to improve propaganda lectures, on stimulating the economic education of the working people, on promoting amateur arts and dramatics, and on improving the cultural facilities available to the rural population. The goal set by the CPSU is to raise ideological work to a qualitatively higher level corresponding to the requirements of developed socialism and the new tasks of communist construction and to remove the existing inadequacies (formalism, a tendency to use stock phrases, empty talk, etc.).

The formation of a fully developed individual begins in the family, where the concepts of society are formed and ideological and moral qualities are cultivated. It then con-

tinues in the school, in the work collective, as each individual actively participates in the process of communist construction.

The CPSU pursues the task of communist education, as it does its entire revolutionary-transformatory activity, on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism is the only reliable basis on which to elaborate the correct strategy and tactic. It provides an understanding of future trends and possibilities, assists in determining the direction to be taken in socio-economic and political development for many years into the future and helps in assessing current events.

It is the constant concern of the CPSU to ensure that the working people are armed with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of socialist and communist construction. The system of political study, economic training and other forms of education has become a Marxist-Leninist university for millions, which shows the enormous interest of the Soviet people in the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Labour education exerts a great influence on the individual. In work and the attitude to work are revealed the hidden creative talents of the individual. Under developed socialism, the demands made on the individual engaged in production are increasing, and economic practice and education are ever more closely inter-related. The democratic base of the production process has been strengthened, and this has resulted in a marked increase in worker participation in the discussion of questions and implementation of measures relating to various aspects of the life of the collective. The creative potential of the workers is being more fully revealed and personal responsibility for the level of productivity and labour discipline has risen.

The growing unity of society and the individual during the process of eliminating socio-class differences under mature socialism has its own specific features. The highest aim of society is the all-round development of the individual, while the highest moral aim of activity and development for the individual is to serve the interests of society. In other words, *the central theme or basis of the education of the individual is to cultivate a moral attitude that is socially orientated and imbued with social ideals.*

Active participation in the creation of material and cultural values helps the individual to attain integrated development, extend his professional skills and raise the level of his general education and culture.

At the present stage of communist construction, the Party has set the Soviet people the task of raising the efficiency and quality of work. The question of efficiency and quality undoubtedly goes beyond economics alone, and has a specific moral and psychological content. This can be judged by the fact that raising efficiency and quality in every branch of the economy requires that outworn and stereotyped management methods be overcome. Therefore, the struggle to improve the organisation and quality of production involves a campaign to raise individual professional and ethical standards and to instil the principles of communist morality in individual behaviour. In affixing the Mark of Quality on faultlessly produced parts, machines and equipment, the worker affirms his professional skill and also his dignity and honour as a worker. High quality represents, first and foremost, high efficiency, the conscience of the individual and his attitude to his own reputation. Inventiveness, dedication and skill are the requirements of the age we live in and are the hallmarks of labour under developed socialism.

Today, when it is a question not only of discipline and diligence, but also of conscience, skill, efficiency and quality, it is particularly important that the individual understand the social significance of his work. Moreover, this applies not only to the individual worker but also to the whole work collective. It cannot be otherwise for if one enterprise fails to fulfil the plan or to deliver the necessary products, a whole series of other related enterprises are thrown off course, and this can lead, ultimately, to irretrievable losses. Socialist emulation under the slogans "The workers guarantee quality" and "On the quality of each depends the efficiency of all" is in perfect accord with the demands of the times. Such a movement has a high educative potential and is directed at solving the basic problems of raising the efficiency and quality of labour.

In implementing the measures designed to raise efficiency and quality, party organisations are paying greater attention to the educative influence of such factors as ma-

terial living standards, work content, daily life and leisure. The key to further success and progress on the road to communism lies in the close interaction of economic-organisational and educational work.

The experienced and skilled workers who freely transmit their knowledge, skills, ideological and moral principles to the young generation just starting out on the road of life have an enormous role to play in labour education. Transmitting the revolutionary traditions of struggle and labour is essential in the formation of ideologically convinced and socially active citizens.

The prestige of heroes of labour, of production innovators and leaders of socialist emulation has been raised to an unprecedented level in the USSR, and this is having a beneficial effect on moulding and modifying labour motivation. Labour motivation is not limited to cultivating a love of work. It is also important that each individual should see his work as a service to his country, as a sacred duty.

The active participation of the individual in social and labour activity reveals his view of the world. It helps him to verify the truth of the knowledge he has acquired during his training, to consciously penetrate into the essence of social processes and to raise not only his professional qualifications but also his political, intellectual and moral level.

The ideological opponents of socialism and communism sometimes concede that communist society is capable of producing a powerful technology and an abundance of material goods, but such human failings as individualism, greed and self-interest cannot, they argue, be eliminated. They attempt to impose these ideas on the members of socialist society, poisoning their minds and depriving them of active faith in the future. When we speak of the development of the individual we always take into consideration his way of life and the social conditions in which he is brought up. The way of life and the process of forming the individual are closely interrelated and are largely conditioned one by the other. The founders of scientific communism wrote that the mode of production is not merely the mode of producing the essential means of subsistence, the reproduction of the physical existence of individuals,

but that "it is ... a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are".¹

A particular way of life is formed not according to the will of individuals but as the product of a specific social system. It is the product of activities characteristic of a specific society, class or social group, a particular mode of satisfying and developing material and intellectual-cultural requirements within a given socio-economic formation, the characteristic form of their social relations and system of values.

The socialist way of life consists of activity, behaviour and relations which are free from exploitation and based on genuine collectivism, co-operation and mutual assistance, and which are imbued with humanism, respect for the individual and concern for his development. It is a way of life characterised by social optimism, which gives people confidence in the present and the future and which encourages in them a positive attitude to life and the ability to strive for further progress, to see and overcome difficulties. The formation of the new man, fully developed and fully qualified, is to be achieved by consolidating the norms and values of the socialist way of life and by turning them into a matter of personal conviction determining activity and behaviour.

It is, therefore, essential that the development of the economy and culture and the whole spectrum of political and ideological work should serve to perfect the socialist way of life and, ultimately, form the new man. The practical experience of socialist and communist construction refutes the claims of bourgeois ideologists that men are inherently flawed and that all-round human development is impossible. In the course of the tremendous historical creativity undertaken in the USSR a generation of people has been brought up in the spirit of selfless dedication to the high ideals of communism. The Soviet individual has been moulded to produce a stalwart fighter for the interests of the working people, a consistent revolutionary and conscientious worker.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "The German Ideology", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 31.

In contrast to bourgeois morality, with its cult of the individual and of compulsion, communist morality affirms collectivism, mutual assistance and fraternal solidarity among the working people of every country and such basic moral principles as integrity, kindness, respect for one's elders, and for women, etc.

In accord with the aims of communist construction, every Soviet citizen is guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creativity. The Constitution of the USSR provides for a considerable impetus to be given to scientific research, invention and rationalisation, and to the development of art and literature. The state is creating the necessary material conditions to this end, assisting voluntary societies and creative associations and organising the practical implementation of new inventions and proposals for rationalisation.

However, such favourable conditions may remain without effect if the individual does not act. The more active the individual, the wider the range of his interests and the more clearly defined the direction and social significance of these interests, the greater the scope for intellectual, cultural and moral improvement. Not everyone can, in his development, rival the great men of science, literature and art, but each can benefit from the fruits of their labour. For this, all that is necessary is interest and initiative, the desire and the will.

Leisure time offers enormous opportunities for individual cultural development. Amateur theatre, ballet and opera companies are being successfully established throughout the country, together with amateur cinematic companies, literary associations etc. Popular arts and crafts are also experiencing a country-wide renaissance. Concern for the cultural development of the individual means providing a wide range of leisure activities and enabling the individual to use his leisure fruitfully. Soviet people are enjoying an increasing amount of free time, and the more fruitfully this is used, the greater the benefit for the individual and for society as a whole. There is great scope here for public organisations involved in the problems of upbringing and education.

As material prosperity increases, the problem of raising cultural and intellectual requirements, a problem discussed

by Lenin, becomes more urgent and demands careful attention. It constitutes one of the main aspects of the communist education of the working people and the all-round development of the individual.

A major role in forming the mind of the individual and enabling him to benefit from the national and international cultural heritage is accorded to the school. The ideological opponents of communism try to prove that Soviet education pursues narrow, pragmatic aims and that the educational process suppresses the individual. However, even a basic analysis of the school curricula shows the wide range of subjects offered to the pupil. Today many schools offer courses in ethics, aesthetics, law, etc., all of which enrich the intellectual world of the child. Labour education pursues the same goals. The method of education, in which the pupil must not merely memorise material but, most importantly, understand it, perceive the problem and himself seek a solution to it, has proved highly successful.

The ideal of the society building communism is the individual who combines physical health and strength with a high level of intellectual, cultural and moral development. The whole of Soviet reality creates the conditions necessary for the formation of such individuals. The wide-ranging rights and freedoms enjoyed by the individual under developed socialism are the concrete practical guarantee of his all-round and harmonious development. The rights of the individual are not some abstract concepts, but very specific, tangible, daily social realities without which it is not possible to satisfy in practice certain interests and needs or to receive and benefit from social goods and values, both material and spiritual. The greater the volume of social goods and values created by socialist society and the greater the opportunities to make use of them, the more important become the guarantee and means of practical implementation of the rights and freedoms of each individual.

The Constitution of the USSR not only summarises the concrete achievements of socialism, ensuring the organic and ever closer unity of society and the individual, but also lays down the scientific programme for the all-round development of the individual and the creation of the requisite conditions.

Humanism is a distinguishing feature of the socio-political system of socialism. Every activity engaged upon by society is engaged upon in the interests of men and in order to satisfy their material and intellectual needs. In the USSR, the rights of man are not merely proclaimed, as they are in the constitutions of bourgeois states, but are provided for and guaranteed by the entire socio-economic development of socialist society, by the policies of the Party and the Government.

The practical implementation of these rights presupposes a high level of individual social activity, the cultivation in the individual of the desire to develop and perfect himself and to engage in a wide range of activity in production, management and culture. The cultivation of a sense of social duty, the satisfaction of human requirements and the practical implementation of his rights are not possible without the discharge of obligations. The unity of rights and obligations is indispensable to the unified and harmonious development of society and each individual, and this is being achieved in practice under socialism.

In socialist society, rights exist alongside obligations, and both are based on the conscious participation of the masses in the management of the state and the building of communism. The rights to work and education, for example, are inseparable from the obligations to work and learn (obligatory universal secondary education). Only this unity of rights and obligations enables the individual to make full use of the existing possibilities—to work and learn, for example—for his own development, and the more developed the individual, the greater the benefit to society.

To sum up, under developed socialism, the obligations of Soviet citizens fully correspond to the interests of society and the interests of each member of that society, while his rights guarantee him genuine freedom and enable him to fully develop his talents and abilities.

Bourgeois ideologists, hypocritically speaking in defence of "human rights" in socialist countries, are striving to prove that the constitutional obligations of the citizens in socialist society infringe upon or even nullify his rights and thus limit individual freedom. These attempts to put socialist society and its citizens in opposition to their state are groundless. The rights of the individual in the USSR fully

correspond to his obligations before the state, while the state, relying on the awareness of the masses and using the full force of the law, protects the rights and freedoms of the individual and ensures respect for human dignity.

The all-round, harmonious development of the Soviet individual is both a necessity and the concrete objective of communist education. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which directs the entire gamut of socio-economic, intellectual, cultural and moral processes in the society of mature socialism, is paying particular attention to the education of the new man. In so doing it is guided by Lenin's proposition that the education of intellectually conscious and fully developed citizens is the prerequisite of success in the whole cause of communist construction.

Questions on Part Three

- (1) What are the basic stages in the building of socialism?
- (2) What are the characteristics of developed socialism?
- (3) What are the essential and distinguishing features of the socialist way of life?
- (4) Describe the achievements of developed socialism as confirmed in the Constitution?
- (5) What are the characteristic features of the material and technical base of communism?
- (6) In what does the struggle to raise the efficiency and quality of production consist?
- (7) What methods can be used to accelerate the rate of scientific and technological progress?
- (8) What classes and social groups exist in socialist society and what are their distinguishing features?
- (9) How can the differences between the town and country, both socio-economic and in terms of culture and living standards, be overcome?
- (10) What is the role of scientific and technological progress in eliminating the essential differences between intellectual and physical labour?
- (11) What is the essence of the Leninist policy being pursued by the Party to ensure the prosperity and growing unity of the socialist nations?

- (12) What are the essential characteristics of Soviet socialist culture?
- (13) What are the distinguishing features of the socialist state of the whole people?
- (14) What is the meaning and significance of the unity of the rights and obligations of Soviet citizens?
- (15) What are the basic differences between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy?
- (16) Why is it essential to achieve the all-round development of the individual?
- (17) In what does the comprehensive approach to the communist education of the working people essentially consist?
- (18) What is the role of the collective in educating the individual?

THE VICTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

XIX. The Content of the Present Historical Period

Lenin and the Communist Parties on the Present Epoch

The variety of events taking place in the life of countries and nations, the complex processes occurring on the international scene, are determined by the laws underlying the present age and its basic economic, social and political trends. This is why a profound analysis of the contemporary period is the basis of all the programme documents drawn up by the communist movement.

According to Lenin, the major, the key factor in determining the nature of any epoch was the identification of the position and role of its main classes. He wrote: "Here we have important historical epochs; in each of them there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward, now backward; there are and will always be various deviations from the average type and mean tempo of the movement. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Under a False Flag", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.

Lenin divided modern and contemporary history into three periods. The first period stretched from the French revolution of 1789 to the Franko-Prussian war and the Paris commune. Lenin described this period as the age of the rise of the bourgeoisie and their complete victory. The bourgeoisie were the leading class of the period, and the basic contradiction of the period was the contradiction between outdated feudalism and ascending capitalism.

The second period stretched from 1871 to the beginning of the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution. This was the period of the transition to imperialism. The internal contradictions of capitalist society intensified and the bourgeoisie changed from being a revolutionary class into a reactionary class, while a new class was gaining in strength—the proletariat.

Lenin linked the beginning of the third period with the First World War and the socialist revolution in Russia. "The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in",¹ wrote Lenin immediately after the victory of the October Revolution. He spoke of this new period in world history as the period "of the rule of a *new* class, a class which is oppressed in every capitalist country, but which everywhere is marching forward towards a new life, towards victory over the bourgeoisie, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars".²

This definition covers the most general and basic features of that period. It reveals the dominant trend and the main content of contemporary social development and indicates which class plays the central role in that development. It characterises this period as the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, in which the main role belongs to the working class.

Lenin's definition of the contemporary period lay at the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 392.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 55.

basis of all subsequent definitions found in the documents of the CPSU, the fraternal communist parties and the international conferences of communist and workers' parties held in 1957, 1960 and 1969. They all underline the decisive role played by the proletariat as the bearer of revolutionary ideas and as the driving force in social changes. In addition, these definitions also reveal the concrete historical form which the role of the proletariat has now assumed, that is, its transformation in a number of countries into the ruling class, and elucidate the diversity of the present revolutionary process.

The Programme of the CPSU declares: "Our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, is an epoch of struggle between the two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of the transition of more and more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. The central factor of the present epoch is the international working class and its main creation, world socialist system."

A similar assessment of the present period is given in the documents of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1960. Here the distinguishing feature of the present period is defined as consisting in the fact that the *world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society*.

A comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of the present period can be found in the documents of the congresses of the CPSU, in which it is concluded that the world revolutionary process will continue to develop, that each part of that process will be consolidated, and that new generations and social groups, parties and organisations will be drawn into the revolutionary struggle. The documents also note the growing might of socialism and the intensification of revolutionary-democratic trends in the national liberation movement. They also reveal the deepening general crisis of capitalism. The main trend of social progress now is the development and growing strength of the socialist countries and the beneficial influence of their international policy. The attractive force of socialism has further increased

against the background of the crisis that has developed in the capitalist countries.

The Great October Revolution and the World Revolutionary Process

The present period is, therefore, the period of comprehensive revolutionary changes. This is a complex, multifaceted process affecting every aspect of the life of modern society. In different parts of the world, the revolutionary movement is at different stages of its development and faces different problems. It is comprised of different socio-political forces, some of which are striving for a socialist transformation of society, while others are pursuing the goals of democracy and national liberation. However, all these revolutionary forces are interconnected, linked by a common opposition to imperialism. Thus the national liberation revolutions, although not directed at socialist transformations, serve to weaken imperialism and to raise the people to a higher stage in the historical process. They can be viewed as links in a single chain of international battles between capitalism and socialism. Events have vividly confirmed Lenin's proposition that socialist revolution "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism".¹ That this is the direction of the revolutionary process is becoming clearer as the positions of socialism grow in strength.

The starting point of the present world revolutionary process was the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, which freed from capitalism one sixth of the surface of the globe. In so doing, it imparted enormous momentum to the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The process of world revolutionary renewal that began in 1917 has led to radical changes in human society and its socio-political structure.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159.

The Russian revolution activated the struggle of the international proletariat, which began to pursue its aims more consistently and more energetically. Its political maturity and power of organisation grew to become an important force having an ever greater impact upon the life of contemporary society. Under the leadership of communist parties, the proletariat is the main opponent of monopolistic capital and the main fighter for democracy and socialism.

The victory of the revolution in Russia also led to a number of revolutionary actions in many colonial and dependent countries. As a result of the Russian revolution the majority of the population of the globe—peoples who, until the beginning of the twentieth century, had not been in any way involved in historical progress because they did not constitute an independent revolutionary force—joined in the active struggle. Remarking that “it is this majority that has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity”, Lenin concluded that “in this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured”.¹ The rise of the national liberation movement has weakened the entire capitalist system and is thus assisting the struggle of the proletariat in the strong-holds of capitalism itself.

The Present Stage in the Post-October Period

The development of the world revolutionary process after the October Revolution can be divided into three stages. The first stage is the building of a socialist society within the confines of one country—the Soviet Union. Its influence upon world development increased and expanded with every year. However, the course and nature of international relations were, in the main, determined by imperialism.

The second stage was the expansion of socialism beyond the confines of one country and the formation of a world socialist system. The world balance of forces underwent a

radical change. Capitalism and the laws governing it ceased to be the dominating international factor, and imperialism lost forever its position in many countries of Europe and Asia.

The third, present stage consists of the continuing shift in the balance of forces in favour of peace, democracy, national liberation, independence and socialism. Evidence of this is to be found in the successful building of communism in the USSR, the consolidation of socialism in a group of European and Asian countries, the victory of the Cuban revolution, the growing strength of the revolutionary proletariat and the intensification of their class struggle, the collapse of the colonial system, the successes achieved by the national-democratic and popular revolutions and the transition of a large number of countries in Africa and Asia to the path of non-capitalist development. It is during this last period that the international communist movement has become the most influential political force in the world. Socialism, in its various concrete, historically determined forms, is becoming the dominant social system throughout the world, bringing with it peace, freedom, equality and prosperity for all working people.

Imperialism has suffered major defeats on the international arena. A historic victory was won by the Vietnamese people who, with widespread international support, repelled the interventionists, united their country and proceeded to the building of socialism throughout the whole of Vietnam. Laos and Kampuchea have joined the family of socialist nations. The collapse of the imperialist blockade of Cuba, the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the normalisation of its relations with many countries are also major successes achieved by the socialist community and the international communist movement, and have been instrumental in consolidating the international positions of socialism.

The national liberation movement has also scored new successes, including the victory of the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, and the overthrow of the anti-popular, monarchist regime in Iran. The peoples of the former Portuguese colonies—Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, the Cape Verde Islands and Angola—have won national independence. The struggle to over-

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Better Fewer, but Better”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 500.

throw the racist regimes in the south of Africa and all liberation movements fighting for the complete elimination of colonialism, are gaining momentum.

During the 1970s, the proportion of young states participating in liberation movements has shown a marked increase and 25 former colonies and dependent countries have won national independence. Altogether a total of 90 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America have gained independence since the October Revolution. In 1975 the newly independent states accounted for 47 per cent of the surface of the earth and also 47 per cent of its population. Around 20 states have today opted for a socialist course.

The newly independent states are growing more active in international affairs and the non-aligned movement, which comprises more than 80 states from Asia, Africa and Latin America and is generally anti-imperialist in orientation, is gaining in importance. Co-operation between many of these states and their revolutionary-democratic parties on the one hand and the socialist countries and the international working class on the other is growing.

Of particular importance are the shifts that have taken place in Western Europe. The democratic and anti-fascist struggle of the working class and the people has reached a new level. The fascist regimes in Portugal, Greece and Spain have collapsed and throughout the whole of capitalist Europe there has been a broadening of the movement of working people and progressive forces supporting democratic changes in economic, social and political life.

All these events have caused a radical change in the international situation. In the 1970s, the shift from cold war and tense confrontation to detente between states with different social systems, the normalisation of relations and increasing co-operation between nations and peoples has become even more marked. An important landmark in this process was the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which took place in the summer of 1975. As was noted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the second half of the 1970s has been marked above all by an intensive struggle of two lines in world affairs: the line of bridling the arms race, strengthening peace and detente, and defending the sovereign rights and freedom of nations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the line of disrupting detente, es-

calating the arms race, of threats and interference in other countries' affairs, and of suppressing the liberation struggle.

The General Crisis of Capitalism

Together with the development of the world revolutionary process and the consolidation of the historical positions of socialism there is also a weakening of the capitalist system and a deepening of its general crisis.

The general crisis of capitalism is the result of the entire development of this social system, the acute intensification at the imperialist stage of the contradictions between labour and capital. Today this general crisis has spread to every sphere of life in bourgeois society.

The first stage in the general crisis of capitalism began with the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution. Capitalism ceased to be an all-inclusive and undivided system dominating the world and, although the bourgeoisie was able to hold back for a while the growth of the revolutionary movement in Europe and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations, it was not able to halt the erosion of the foundation of its rule. During the interwar period capitalism experienced three serious economic crises.

The defeat of fascism in the Second World War and the consolidation of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism further reduced the positions of capitalism and led to the next stage in the general crisis. Socialist revolutions occurred in a number of European and Asian countries, which resulted in their leaving the capitalist system, thereby weakening it still further. These countries, together with the USSR, formed the world socialist system. The colonial system also began to collapse during this period. Increasing pressure from the labour movement compelled the ruling circles of the capitalist countries to make certain concessions. Processes occurring within the economy of the capitalist world in the 1940s and 1950s (the rebuilding of an economy shattered by the war, expansion of the internal and external market, the scientific and technological revolution and the internationalisation of economic life) led to certain changes in its mode of operation, which enabled it

to overcome economic crises with relative ease. Government intervention in capitalist production increased. By means of direct military action, the exhausting arms race and the cold war, imperialism tried to undermine world socialism and suppress the working class and national liberation movement. However, it was unable to improve its position in the historical competition with the world socialist system.

In the second half of the 1950s, a radical change took place in the world, namely, the emergence of socialism as the decisive force in social development. The third stage in the general crisis of capitalism began, and with it the resolute struggle of the socialist countries to achieve a reconstruction of the political, economic, cultural and other relations between nations and an improvement in the international situation.

In the postwar period, bourgeois society was shaken several times by economic crises, the most severe of which was the crisis of 1974-1975. This crisis occurred simultaneously in the majority of capitalist countries and involved overproduction, together with financial, raw material and energy problems. Although the pre-crisis level of industrial production was once more achieved, energy and raw material problems remained, the currency and financial system was still unsettled and the rise in unemployment and inflation continued.

All this proves yet again the historical unviability of capitalism and its inability to find a solution to the urgent problems facing contemporary society. It is true that capitalism still possesses considerable productive forces and potential, enabling it to continue and, what is more, it is attempting to strengthen its position. However, from a historical viewpoint, its replacement by socialism is increasingly necessary.

The Main Revolutionary Forces in Contemporary Society

The main revolutionary forces in contemporary society are the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. *The world system of socialism is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist*

struggle and the bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress.

The working class of the socialist system created a new society free of exploitation and oppression, genuinely humane and socially just, attracting the workers of every country throughout the world. The socialist countries possess enormous economic, political, ideological and military potential. Socialism convincingly demonstrates its advantages over capitalism in every sphere of social life.

Let us take some examples from the economic sphere. In 1917 the industrial production of socialism constituted less than 3 per cent of world industrial production. By 1937 this figure had reached just under 10 per cent, in 1950 it was about 20 per cent and in 1980 it had risen to more than 40 per cent. In 1917, industrial production in the Soviet Union equalled 12.5 per cent of industrial production in the USA. By 1980 this figure had risen to over 80 per cent. The socialist economy is characterised by a consistently high rate of development, while the capitalist economy periodically experiences crises and stagnation. Between 1950 and 1977 the socialist countries increased the volume of their industrial production by 12 times whereas the developed capitalist countries increased their output by only 3.6 times. It must also be remembered that in the socialist countries the development of production is subordinate to the task of ensuring a steady rise in the material well-being of the working people.

On the basis of unity and mutual assistance, the socialist countries have solved a number of major issues over recent years. The geographical boundaries of the socialist system are expanding, and the power and international authority of the socialist countries have increased still more. The USSR, a member of the world socialist system, of the socialist community, is developing and strengthening its ties of friendship, co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance with the socialist countries according to the principles of socialist internationalism, and is actively participating in economic integration and the international socialist division of labour. Relations between the socialist countries are characterised by further consolidation of their all-round co-operation. The essential basis of close co-operation between the countries of the socialist community is

the militant alliance of their communist parties. The strengthening of this alliance and the development of the diverse links uniting them is the object of their unfailing attention.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which promotes economic co-operation and assists in carrying through socialist economic integration, and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, set up to defend the socialist countries from any possible military adventures on the part of imperialism, are collective organisations instrumental in achieving the common aims of the socialist states. The combined efforts of the socialist countries on the international arena help to ensure further successes in the struggle for peace, freedom and independence for the nations, against the right-wing policy of increasing international tension.

The achievements of the socialist countries in building a new society mean that the revolutionary process will be further consolidated, and that socialist ideals will be realised in the life of a significant proportion of the world population. Moreover, they convincingly confirm Lenin's conclusion that the establishment of the rule of the working class in several countries will make it "capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics".¹

The next major revolutionary current is the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries. The army of wage and salary labour, of which the core is the industrial proletariat, numbers over 430 million people in the non-socialist countries. The working class occupies a key position in the main centres of the capitalist system and its strength, influence and organisation have grown considerably.

Over recent years, primarily thanks to the struggle of the working class, there has been a move to the left in certain capitalist countries. The position of Communists and their political allies in Italy, France, Japan and a number of other states has been consolidated and the hostility of the working class to the entire system of state-monopoly rule has intensified. The 1970s saw a new upsurge in the strike struggle in a large number of countries. These strikes often develop into demonstrations and meetings, into the seizure of factories and bitter conflict between the national trade

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

union centres and governments. The trade union movement is also moving to the left; within the trade unions there is a broad discussion not only of problems relating to pay, tax reduction and employment, but also of the key issues involved in economic and political development, the struggle waged against the power of monopolies and for the democratisation of public life. The struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries is becoming more overtly political and is directed at the very foundations of the capitalist system.

Over recent years the division of Social-Democracy—an influential political trend within the working-class movement that adopts a reformist position—has continued. This process was noted as early as 1969 by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Within certain social-democratic parties there is a growing demand for consistent defence of the interests of the working people and opposition to imperialism.

The struggle of the working class is, of course, marked not only by successes. The bourgeoisie which occupies a decisive position in public life is still able to hold back the development of class awareness among the workers, and prevent them from understanding their historical role, is still able to impede their transformation into an active force waging a purposeful and consistent struggle through its political organisation. However, on the whole the struggle of the working class is developing successfully.

Finally, *the third main revolutionary current is the national liberation movement.* Events on the international scene increasingly demonstrate the growing historical role of the liberated peoples struggling against imperialism to achieve independence and equality. Lenin's prediction that the day would come when all the peoples of the East would take part in deciding the fate of the world is now being fulfilled. This is directly linked with the consolidation of the position of those states in which there have been major social changes that have unleashed the enormous energy of the people. Of particular significance is the fact that more and more liberated countries are beginning to adopt a socialist orientation course, confirming Lenin's proposition that, under the influence of the October Revolution, the struggle of the peoples to achieve national liberation would

inevitably "turn against capitalism and imperialism",¹ and that this struggle would be all the more effective the more secure the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement.

Important changes are taking place in the internal life and foreign policy of the developing countries. In many liberated countries the emphasis has shifted to developing the state sector in industry, eliminating feudal landownership, nationalising foreign enterprises, and training national personnel. The majority of the liberated countries are striving to raise the level of their people's social, economic and cultural development.

Viewed as a whole the newly liberated countries present a varied picture. "After liberation, some of them have been following the revolutionary-democratic path. In others, capitalist relations have taken root. Some of them are following a truly independent policies, while others are today taking their lead from imperialist policy."²

The developing countries are becoming more active in international affairs, their foreign policy being based on the principles of non-alignment. The activity of the Organisation of African Unity, and various economic associations set up by newly independent nations is evidence of their political activity and their growing influence on international relations. The importance of the non-aligned movement lies in the fact that it is directed against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression.

The CPSU adopts a clearly defined position as regards the complex processes within the developing countries. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, but continues to stand on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence. The USSR gives its support to peoples fighting for freedom and helps them to develop their economy and culture. It also supports the anti-imperialist line adopted by

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Third Congress of the First International, June 22-July 12, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

² L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, p. 17.

the non-aligned movement and promotes its further development.

The above provides a very general picture of the world revolutionary movement. Today this movement is active throughout the world and involves all the peoples, leaving a deep imprint upon their socio-political lives. Workers, peasants, students, those involved in administration and public services, the intelligentsia and other sections of the population are being drawn into the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and radical social changes. New generations and sections of the working people are continually joining in political activity on the side of the forces of revolution and socialism.

The problems being resolved today by various revolutionary contingents are increasingly similar and interconnected. Social progress in individual countries is more and more bound up with the development of the anti-imperialist movement as a whole, and the achievement of concrete objectives at the national level is dependent to an ever greater degree upon the solution of common, global issues. Such issues include averting a thermonuclear war, upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems as the norm in international life, overcoming the consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism and establishing new and equitable economic and political relations between the former metropolitan countries and the young independent states. The common tasks facing all progressive forces are the struggle against fascist and terrorist regimes, opposition to attempts by the most reactionary circles of monopolistic capital to overcome the crisis in the capitalist system by means of anti-popular dictatorship and violation of the rights of the working people.

The world revolutionary process is gaining strength, accelerating the forward progress of mankind and drawing into the process of historical creativity ever new sections of the population. Although the revolutionaries still have a long road ahead of them before life on earth is transformed according to socialist principles, the triumph of the new order is inevitable.

XX. The Development of the World System of Socialism

The Formation of the World System of Socialism and the General Laws of Socialist Transformation

The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to the undivided rule of capitalism, which lost Russia to socialism. Not long afterwards a revolution took place in Mongolia, where the adoption of socialism was proclaimed in 1940.

The struggle of the Soviet Union and the democratic and patriotic forces of various countries against nazism during the Second World War stimulated a new and powerful upsurge in the revolutionary movement. Following the defeat of nazism and the change in the balance of forces in favour of democracy and socialism, popular-democratic and socialist revolutions took place in a number of countries, signalling a further breach in the imperialist front. The working people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Vietnam and North Korea, led by communist and workers' parties, took power into their own hands and established people's democracies. In the majority of cases, these states first instituted changes of a national-democratic nature, and then, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, moved to the building of socialism. In 1949 the people's revolution was victorious in China, and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, which then pursued a socialist path.

The following years saw new revolutionary events. In 1959, the national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution emerged victorious in Cuba and subsequently developed into a socialist revolution. Cuba became the first Latin American country to adopt the socialist path of development. In 1975, following the successful conclusion of the struggle of the Vietnamese people for liberation and the reunification of

their country, the building of socialism began throughout the entire territory inhabited by 50 million Vietnamese. In recent years Laos and Kampuchea have joined the family of socialist nations. Socialism has become a powerful world force, a decisive factor in human progress. There is not a single major issue relating to social development upon which socialism does not exert an influence. It has proved itself to be an invincible force capable of putting down deep roots and developing in the most varied circumstances.

The history of the world socialist system vividly confirmed Lenin's theory of the wide variety of concrete forms that socialist construction could assume. The development of each socialist country reveals many specific and unique features in solving the problems related to the formation of the political system, in building up socialist industry and collectivised agriculture and in carrying through changes in the ideological and cultural spheres.

At the same time, socialist revolutions and the practice of socialist construction also reveal a *common pattern*. This includes the use of the power of the working class and its allies to eliminate the socio-economic domination of the capitalists and other exploiters, the rallying together of the working masses in the struggle for socialism, loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the defence of the revolution and socialist gains in building a new society against any attack by its class enemies. The correctness of this thesis has been confirmed by a wealth of historical experience.

The Socialist Community

Within the framework of the world system of socialism, a community of socialist countries has formed which is characterised by a common socio-economic and political system and voluntary co-operation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, fraternal mutual assistance, equality and the national sovereignty of each state. Together with the Soviet Union, the socialist community includes Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Vietnam. "The socialist community," noted Leonid Brezh-

nev, "is a radically new type of alliance. It is based not merely upon the common state interests of a group of countries but constitutes a family of peoples led by Marxist-Leninist parties, bound together by a common world outlook, by the pursuit of the same noble aims, and by relations of fraternal solidarity and mutual support. It is an alliance based on the indissoluble unity of its members as regards policy and action, which is an additional source of strength for each in solving its own national tasks and multiplies their combined weight and influence in international affairs."¹

The principle of proletarian internationalism is the basis of relations between the fraternal socialist countries. This principle permeates inter-state and inter-party relations and is a characteristic feature of the relations between the public organisations and work collectives of these countries. It has taken root in every sphere of life and found expression in economic co-operation. Proletarian internationalism, enriched by socialist content and comprehensively developed in the relations between the socialist countries, is termed *socialist internationalism*.

During the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, many of the fraternal countries laid the foundations of socialism and moved on to the building of a developed socialist society. In the second half of the 1970s, the people of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary continued the building of developed socialism, creating the conditions necessary for the gradual transition to communism. The working people of Romania are carrying through a programme for building a fully developed socialist society and advancing towards communism. The people of Yugoslavia have also achieved new successes in the building of socialism. Mongolia is implementing a programme designed to complete the building of socialism and convert the country into an industrial-agrarian country by the end of the 1970s. Cuba has also progressed considerably along the road of socialist transformation. The people of Vietnam are tackling the difficult task of national recovery and socialist construction. In the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the

building of socialism is being carried through in the midst of a difficult struggle for national reunification on democratic principles. The Laos People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have adopted the path of socialist construction bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

The countries of the world socialist community are now entering into their maturity, a stage at which the specifically socialist nature of the new system and its advantages over capitalism are ever more clearly revealed. They have achieved such a level of economic development that they are now able to deal with qualitatively new and more far-reaching issues. Profound and progressive changes are taking place in the sectoral and territorial structure of socialised production, in technology, in the nature and quality of work and in socialist production relations. The communist parties of the socialist countries are carrying through a policy designed to improve the quality and efficiency of production and every form of social activity by the more extensive introduction of the latest scientific and technological achievements and their combination with the advantages of socialism. Socialist democracy is being developed and improved, which has received the corresponding legal formulation over recent years, and is recorded in the new constitutions promulgated by a number of socialist countries.

During the course of socialist construction, notable changes have taken place in the intellectual and cultural development of the people. The consciousness of the working masses has already largely taken shape under the determining influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the features of the new man of socialist society are being formed and the socialist way of life is developing. The process of embedding the ideas of scientific socialism in the consciousness of the masses is taking place in a situation of bitter conflict with the opponents of communism and their attempts to undermine the social system within the socialist countries and destroy the unity and solidarity of the socialist community.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Speeches and Articles, Vol. 5, Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, p. 416 (in Russian).

The Development of Co-operation Among the Socialist Countries

At the present time, the communist and workers' parties see the encouragement of closer unity among the socialist countries as their most important task. With the development of each socialist nation and the strengthening of its national sovereignty, the degree of inter-relationship between the socialist states also increases, their political, economic and social systems grow more alike and they gradually attain the same level of development. This gradual coming closer of the socialist countries is now clearly revealing itself to be the norm.

The growing unity of the peoples and countries of the socialist system is an all-embracing process. In the economic sphere it is expressed in an increasing level of socialist economic integration; in the socio-political sphere it is expressed in the consolidation and development of the socialist order; in the foreign policy it is expressed in a common and co-ordinated policy designed to strengthen peace and friendship among the nations and international detente; and in the ideological sphere it is expressed in the growing assertion of the Marxist-Leninist world view. The different aspects of this process are all interconnected.

Wide-ranging co-operation and growing unity among the fraternal socialist countries are dictated by the objective requirements for developing the socialist system. This co-operation is organised and directed by the ruling communist parties on the basis of a scientific study of the laws governing world socialism and of the correct combination of national and international interests.

Wide-ranging co-operation among the socialist countries in the economic sphere is carried out within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. In 1980, CMEA had ten member countries in Europe, Asia and America. Yugoslavia also actively co-operates with CMEA and takes part in the work of almost all its organs relating to issues of mutual interest. The member countries of CMEA enjoy a high rate of economic growth, rapid scientific and technological advance, a steady rise in national prosperity and level of culture and a gradual equalisation of the levels of economic development.

Co-operation among the member countries of CMEA takes place according to the principles of socialist internationalism and is based on respect for national sovereignty, independence and interest, on non-interference in the internal affairs of member states, full equality and voluntary association, mutual benefit and fraternal mutual assistance.

The XXVth session of CMEA held in 1971 adopted a Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration. This programme will permit the member countries of CMEA to make fuller use of the advantages of the socialist economic system and the international socialist division of labour in order to strengthen their economic and military might and raise the level of national prosperity.

Co-operation in the sphere of planning, and particularly the co-ordination of economic plans, is the basic method used in organising co-operation among the member states of CMEA and in further developing the international socialist division of labour. A new and important step in further improving this method was a Co-ordinated Plan of Multilateral Integration Measures to be taken by the member countries of CMEA over the period 1976-1980 in accord with the Comprehensive Programme, a plan elaborated by the joint efforts of the member countries and organs of CMEA. The measures included in this plan determined the basis for further developing co-operation within CMEA over a long-term period. Among these measures were: the construction of the gigantic main gas pipeline Soyuz stretching over 2,750 kilometres from the Orenburg region to the western border of the USSR and designed to carry over 15 thousand million cubic metres of gas a year to the European member countries of CMEA (the pipeline opened in 1979); the construction of a 750 kilovolt electricity cable covering more than 800 km between Vinnitsa (USSR) and Albertirsa (Hungary) (opened in 1978); the construction of the Ust-Ilimsk cellulose factory with a production capacity of 500 thousand tons of high-quality cellulose a year; the construction of the Kiambaev asbestos concentration combine with a production capacity of 500 thousand tons a year; the construction of new facilities to increase nickel and cobalt production in Cuba by 30 thousand tons a year,

and the joint construction of other major economic projects.

Scientific and technical co-operation plays an important role in the successful achievement of the Comprehensive Programme. More than three thousand research and development establishments, design institutes, and institutes of higher education, including some 200 scientific research institutes attached to national academies of sciences, are involved in this co-operation. The member countries of CMEA are also co-operating successfully in space research, and international space flights have already begun as part of the Intercosmos space programme.

Several long-term co-operation programmes are being developed to enable the member countries of CMEA to satisfy their growing requirements in energy, fuel and raw materials, improve the machine-building industry, provide a more adequate supply of agricultural and industrial consumer products and accelerate the expansion of the transport system.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties consider that the 1980s must be a period of intensive co-operation among the socialist countries in production, science and technology. The 26th Congress of the CPSU emphasised that the community's agenda must also include increased standardisation of economic mechanisms, the further development of direct links between ministries, firms and enterprises involved in co-operation, and the establishment of joint firms and other forms of combining effort and resources.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is not an inward-looking organisation. It is prepared to develop economic links with all the countries of the world, whatever their social and state system, on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and respect of sovereignty.

The successes achieved by the countries of the socialist community and their experience in co-operation is attracting increased attention from many states. An illustration of this are the co-operation agreements signed between the CMEA and Finland, Iraq and Mexico. At present the Council maintains relations of various forms with over 60 international organisations.

Joint Action on the International Arena

Co-operation between the socialist states on the international scene is increasing every year, and is being further developed and enriched. The socialist countries have today progressed from the co-ordination of individual foreign policy measures in the early stages of their relations to the co-ordination of their joint activity within the framework of a common strategy. Such co-ordination permits the fraternal states to act more effectively in achieving their common aims on the international arena and strengthens their position in the historical conflict between socialism and capitalism.

Imperialism is doing all to weaken the effect of existing socialism on the peoples of the world, using the most varied methods in its struggle. It is impeding the development of economic relations with the socialist countries, relations that would meet the interests of the international division of labour and of mutually advantageous co-operation. It is waging relentless ideological struggle against the socialist countries, adopting an anti-communist position and misrepresenting the life of the socialist community to the peoples of the world. Over recent years there has been a marked intensification of provocative slander campaigns directed against imaginary violations of human rights in socialist countries. The aim of these campaigns is to distract the attention of the masses from the most gross violation of human rights in capitalist countries and from the incurable ills of capitalism.

In order to give their anti-communist propaganda the appearance of objectivity, the ideologists of imperialism are obliged to recognise certain of the achievements of socialism. However, this recognition is accompanied by discussions of its imagined inadequacies and flaws, which effectively nullify it. Bourgeois propaganda attempts to mask its hostility to socialism by giving the impression that it is genuinely interested in an "improvement" or "reform" of socialist society. The aim is to "soften", to "erode" socialism from within. At the same time, the imperialists spare no efforts in their attempts to provoke dissension and conflict among the socialist countries. They are striving to bankrupt

the socialist economy by imposing on it an expensive arms race.

The Warsaw Treaty Organisation serves as the effective instrument for elaborating and implementing a common foreign policy programme for the overwhelming majority of the European socialist countries. This organisation was formed as a military-political defensive alliance whose purpose was to protect the socialist countries from threats on the part of the aggressive imperialist grouping of NATO. Periodic meetings between the leaders of the communist and workers' parties to discuss foreign policy issues are conducted via the supreme organ of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—the Political Consultative Committee. The Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, established in 1976, plays a major role in the effective and practical resolution of such issues.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states are actively pursuing a policy whose aim is to defend peace, oppose the arms race and improve and restructure international relations. Thanks to their joint efforts, the socialist countries have successfully increased their influence in the solving of major international issues. The victory of the heroic people of Vietnam who, with the aid and support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and progressive forces throughout the world, repulsed the forces of imperialism and reaction and achieved the full liberation of their country, was an event of historic significance.

Joint action on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states led to the complete and final lifting of the political and diplomatic blockade organised by the imperialist forces against the German Democratic Republic, and this was a major step in the consolidation of world socialism in Europe. Thanks to the support of the USSR and other socialist countries, the first socialist state in the continent of America—the Republic of Cuba—has been able to strengthen its international position. As a result the attempts of American imperialism to solve the "Cuban question" by armed force and by an economic and diplomatic blockade failed.

In the course of this joint struggle, the socialist community has increased its influence upon world events, has fur-

ther consolidated its unity, solidarity and mutual support and increased the possibilities for successfully pursuing a concerted policy on the international arena.

The Militant Alliance of the Communist Parties as the Basis for Close Co-operation Among the Socialist Countries

The report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress stressed: "The main basis of our close co-operation, its soul and the guiding, organising force, is the indissoluble militant alliance of the *communist parties of socialist countries*, the identity of their world outlook, their aims and will." Co-operation among the ruling communist parties covers every sphere of their activity, takes the most diverse forms and is effected at every level.

Multilateral and bilateral contacts between general and first secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties have become a regular occurrence and are of particular importance in further developing such co-operation. During these meetings there are detailed discussions of current tasks and those to be dealt with in the near future and also of measures to further develop and improve co-operation in every sphere. Such bilateral and multilateral conferences of secretaries are periodically organised, together with lecture tours, seminars, and exchange visits by party delegations to assist in the study of experience gathered in party work. There is also co-operation among the scientific research and educational institutes and party press organs of the fraternal countries. The CPSU maintains inter-party links at every level, from that of the republic, area and region to that of the district and large-scale enterprise. A major contribution is made by the friendship societies of the USSR and the other socialist countries,

while increasing contact between the working people is giving the relations between socialist states a truly popular character.

The Socialist World and the Liberation Movement

The socialist countries are providing various forms of aid to revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. The socialist system serves as the main source of inspiration and political support for all liberation revolutions. The existence of the socialist system does not, of course, of itself guarantee their success, but it increases the possibility of consolidating the victory and permits even small countries that have managed to break free of the imperialist system to advance towards socialism.

Lenin believed that it is the duty of a victorious revolution to assist revolutionary forces in other countries. However, he resolutely opposed those who thought it possible to "urge on" revolution from outside.

Today the socialist system is assisting the struggle for a progressive transformation of society in a number of ways. By its struggle for peace, it is helping to ensure the principal condition for the very existence of mankind, the very possibility of any social progress. The steady development of the socialist economy, bound by innumerable links to the world economy, serves to strengthen the material basis for international detente.

The socialist system is exerting an ever greater influence on the democratisation of international relations. The principles and norms of international intercourse advanced by the socialist system, principles such as full equality, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of another state, are increasingly accepted in international practice and international life as a whole. The policies of the socialist countries played a decisive role in the shift from cold war to detente which occurred in the first half of the 1970s.

The rapid and consistent economic growth of the socialist countries, the rising living standards of the people and the repeated successes achieved in economic, scientific and

technological competition with the world of capital have added to the attractive power of socialist ideas and strengthened the position of the left in the class struggle.

The example of existing socialism acquires particular significance in connection with the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Socialism demonstrates its advantages primarily in the economic sphere. The consistent development of the economy of the socialist countries, free of crises and unemployment, makes a striking impression on the working people of the non-socialist world. Although the economy of a number of socialist countries has suffered setbacks over the last few years, the rate of economic growth of the member countries of CMEA over the last ten years was double that of the developed capitalist countries.

The new social system also reveals its superiority over capitalism in the sphere of social relations. The advantages and potential of socialism are also becoming increasingly evident in the political sphere, in the development of the socialist political system and extension of democracy. Of particular importance in this respect is the example of the democratic and just resolution of the nationalities question in the USSR and other socialist countries. The successes of the socialist countries are especially striking against the background of monopolist encroachments on the living standards and social rights of the working people (inflation and unemployment), and the rapid increase in racism and political arbitrariness that are now dominant characteristics of the capitalist world.

The socialist countries, by guaranteeing real socio-economic rights and political freedoms to their peoples, are also thereby providing a stimulus to the struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries for similar rights and freedoms and are, as it were, increasing their interest in the struggle against the rule of capital.

The existence of socialism and its successes in solving major economic, social and political problems, compel the imperialist bourgeoisie to be more compliant towards the demands of the working class and other sections of the working people. It finds itself compelled to satisfy some of their socio-economic demands.

The victory and successful consolidation of socialism is itself a source of inspiration for the working class and the

working people of the whole world, and fosters their optimism and confidence in the final victory of their own struggle. The existence of the world socialist system seriously restricts the open export of counter-revolution by imperialism and thus enables the working class and its allies to adopt peaceful methods of acquiring power, i.e., to make use of existing forms of bourgeois democracy, including parliament, and thus avoid civil war.

The example of socialism is exerting a profound influence on the content, form and socio-economic orientation of the national liberation movement. Peoples who have put an end to the political rule of imperialism are drawing from the experience of socialism ideas that enable them to find effective means of consolidating national independence, overcoming backwardness, and achieving economic independence and ensuring economic and social progress. Those nations that have adopted a socialist orientation have at their disposal a tested theory and practice of the non-capitalist path of development.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are resolutely opposing the aggressive policies of imperialist reaction towards those countries and peoples who are struggling to achieve freedom and national independence. Given the new balance of forces, imperialism has in a number of instances not dared to interfere openly in the affairs of the peoples of Africa and Asia. The growing strength of the world socialist system has not only assisted the development of the national liberation movement but has also created conditions that have permitted the peoples of many countries previously under colonial rule to win national independence by less painful methods, without armed conflict. All of this serves to strengthen solidarity between the socialist countries and other revolutionary forces. This solidarity finds its expression in joint action for peace and social progress, in spreading the truth about the peaceful foreign policy of the fraternal socialist countries, which corresponds to the vital interests of all the peoples of the world, and also about the practical methods used to transform society according to socialist principles. It also implies the obligation to rebut bourgeois propaganda campaigns slandering the socialist system and attempting to isolate it from other revolutionary forces by blackening its revolutionary ideals.

The peoples of the socialist countries, who were the first to prepare the way for the new society, have accomplished a magnificent task. All that will be achieved by other nations who have already adopted or who will adopt the path of radical revolutionary change will be indissolubly linked to the achievements in practice and principle of modern socialism.

XXI. The National Liberation Movement

The Development of the National Liberation Movement

The national liberation movement is an integral part of the world revolutionary process and it has spread to include wide areas of the former colonial and semi-colonial world.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, dozens of countries were bound by colonial dependence. They served as a source of raw materials and cheap labour and were also used as a sphere of highly profitable capital investment. The enslaved peoples waged a long struggle against the colonialists to win independence, but all such attempts were savagely repressed. Not one popular uprising against the colonialists in Asia and Africa—and there were many such uprisings from the end of the eighteenth century onwards—was successful. The peoples of Latin America succeeded in overthrowing the rule of the Spanish and Portuguese colonialists in the national liberation revolutions of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the independence of the new republics proved short-lived and they soon came under the sway of the major capitalist powers, primarily the USA. Nor was this an accident. The national liberation movement was unable to achieve its aims until it established close links with the struggle of the working class for socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution gave new strength to the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, where it merged with the struggle against internal reaction, against feudal lords, compradores, money-lenders and the military. The popular masses, mostly the peasantry, which comprised 80-90 per cent of the population, joined in the national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle.

The young working class of the colonial countries stood at the head of the national liberation movement. Communist parties were formed in many of these countries, and the trade-union movement began to develop. Lenin elaborated the theory of national liberation revolutions in the new stage, and the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries delivered the first serious blows against imperialism, setting off a crisis in the colonial system.

After the Second World War, the national liberation movement increased dramatically, and has gone on to achieve major successes. The colonial system collapsed and imperialism lost its political sway over large areas of the world. By the middle of the 1970s, the last colonial empire—the Portuguese—had also crashed.

All this has been a serious blow for imperialism, which has lost vast areas of profitable capital investment, important markets and major sources of raw materials and labour. The political and military-strategic positions of capitalism have been weakened. A large number of the newly-independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have formed an influential grouping known as the non-aligned movement, whose policy is based on non-participation in military-political blocks, a joint struggle for international peace and security, and opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

A number of newly-independent countries have adopted the path of major social change and are pursuing a socialist orientated course. As Lenin predicted, the struggle for national liberation is developing into a struggle for social liberation. The profound changes taking place in these countries are enabling their peoples to advance towards socialism, bypassing capitalism. The national liberation movement is being increasingly affected by its close links with other revolutionary forces and its co-operation with them in the joint struggle against imperialism.

The Struggle for Economic Independence

The imperialists are unwilling to accept the loss of their colonial possessions. The greater the stability of the newly-independent states, the more persistent are imperialist

attempts to recover their lost influence and win a foothold in the economy of the young countries.

Although they have acquired political independence, the majority of the former colonial and semi-colonial countries still fall within the orbit of the international capitalist economic system. Foreign monopolies continue to occupy key positions in their economy. The level of economic development among the young states is considerably lower than that of the leading countries of the West, and the gap is growing rather than diminishing. In terms of per capita production, the newly-independent countries lag far behind the economically developed countries. In the middle of the 1970s, their share of world industrial production was less than ten per cent, and the average income was twelve times less than in the imperialist countries. Even with an average annual industrial production growth of five per cent (with all other factors remaining unchanged), they would need some 300 years to reach the present level of industrial development in the capitalist countries. A considerable proportion of the population in former colonial countries is suffering from poverty and starvation, and hundreds of millions are illiterate. Underdevelopment in the countries of Asia and Africa cannot be overcome without ending direct interference by international monopolistic capital in their internal affairs, without ending their economic dependence.

The development of the state sector plays a decisive role in strengthening the economic independence of the young states. This can be achieved either by nationalising foreign enterprises or by building new ones. In Iraq, for example, the basis of the state sector was created by nationalising the largest, British-owned Iraq Petroleum Company. In India, the state sector was established and consolidated by the construction of (among others) large iron and steel plants, built with Soviet assistance. The state sector serves to limit the influence of foreign monopolies and strengthen the position of progressive national forces. India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria and others have achieved notable successes in adding economic to political independence.

The Socialist-Orientated Path

The newly-independent countries are the scene of ever sharpening conflict over the path of development to be followed. The emergence of a clearly determined course of development leads to a change in the correlation of national and social aspects in the liberation struggle, and to an intensification of class conflict, which spreads to become national in scope. The national, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial course of development still retains its primary significance, but the class struggle also becomes a key factor in solving, among other things, the tasks of national liberation.

Over the last few decades, the working class has grown rapidly in many developing countries and now numbers more than 50 million, or almost one quarter of the total number of wage and salary workers. The industrial working class is growing 2-3 times more rapidly than the population as a whole. The majority of the self-employed are peasant small-holders, whose numbers are increasing. Following agrarian reforms, a section of the peasantry in the newly-independent countries received plots of land (usually paid for in instalments). However, these reforms are insufficient.

The non-proletarian section of the population also includes the urban petty bourgeoisie (craftsmen and artisans, small traders, the owners of workshops and small-scale enterprises, workers in the service industries) and the intelligentsia. Exploitation by foreign and national capital, together with social instability, makes them an important force on the side of national liberation revolutions.

In many newly-independent countries, a leading role in national life is played by that section of the bourgeoisie that seeks independent exploitation of the national market and independent economic and political development for the country. This section of the bourgeoisie plays a dual role in the national liberation movement. On the one hand, it desires certain social reforms, while on the other it is both doubtful and fearful of progressive social changes and is inclined to compromise with imperialism.

The bureaucracy in charge of state-run enterprises has managed to win for itself an important position in a num-

ber of newly-independent countries. Its members come mainly from the bourgeoisie and it is one of the main supporters of foreign capital and neocolonial policy. This section is deeply marked by corruption, embezzlement and bribery.

Given the weakness of the working class and its organisations, an important role in the newly-independent countries falls to revolutionary democracy, which is closely connected with the middle sections of the population, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the progressive part of the officials, the intelligentsia, the office corps, the student body and others. These constitute a force either fighting for non-capitalist development in the country or leading such development.

A number of countries are evincing a growing desire to solve their socio-economic problems by adopting a non-capitalist path of development. A path of socialist orientation has been chosen by Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burma, the Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, South Yemen, Syria, Tanzania, and others. These countries reject capitalism as a social system and are pursuing a policy aimed at restricting and eliminating capitalist relations. Their ultimate goal is the transition to socialism.

Among the characteristic features and functions of the socialist-orientated states, the following are of particular importance:

The economic base is comprised of those forms of production relations that are capable of developing into socialist forms, namely state and co-operative systems, and the corresponding forms of social ownership (national or co-operative). The state gradually undermines the economic domination of imperialism, nationalises foreign monopoly enterprises, restricts the private sector and regulates its development, and carries through comprehensive democratic changes that create the economic and social prerequisites for the transition to socialist construction.

The social base of a socialist-orientated state is a democratic bloc that includes all those interested in strengthening national independence and carrying through radical social changes. This bloc includes urban and rural workers, certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and the patriotic intelligentsia.

The political base of the state is made up of the representative organs of the people. In order to strengthen this base it is vitally important that wide sections of the population be involved in the running of the state.

The foreign policy of a socialist-orientated state is anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist in content, and is based on the struggle for peace and equitable co-operation among the nations. Co-operation with the socialist countries is considered to be of prime importance.

The leading role in the political system of the socialist-orientated countries belongs to the revolutionary-democratic forces. Experience has shown that revolutionary democracy can lead society successfully along the path of progress provided it relies on the growing working-class movement within the country, and on support from the socialist countries, the international proletariat and the communist parties. Socio-economic changes inevitably lead to the growth of the proletariat and the consolidation of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

Socialist-orientated development is a complex process of class struggle. If the socio-economic system is insufficiently developed or the position of the working class insufficiently secure, the result may be (and has sometimes been) a deviation from the non-capitalist path of development.

Co-operation Between the Developing Countries and the Countries of the Socialist Community

The socialist countries are united with the majority of states that have arisen following the collapse of the colonial system by the desire for peace and freedom, and by the rejection of any form of aggression, domination and the exploitation of one country by another. The Soviet Union and all the other countries of the socialist community support the struggle of the developing countries for political and economic independence, and give them every assistance. This assistance takes varying forms—participation in geological surveys and prospecting, the supply of equipment, technical assistance in the construction of industrial enterprises and help in developing agriculture and in training native specialists, etc.

Economic co-operation between the USSR and the other socialist countries and the young states of Asia and Africa differs radically from the economic relations that exist between the latter and the imperialist world. Socialist co-operation is built on a reliable and mutually advantageous basis. The developing countries become the complete masters of the resources put at their disposal by such co-operation. The greater part of the economic aid supplied is designed to assist the creation of a modern industrial base. The socialist countries claim no privileges or special rights, nor do they demand that the developing countries make unilateral concessions. The Soviet Union gives its support to those peoples who are fighting for their independence, and is not thereby seeking any advantage for itself in the form of concessions, political dominion or military bases. The Soviet Union has agreements on economic and technical co-operation with 56 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the beginning of 1978, the member countries of CMEA provided 75 developing countries with long-term credits amounting to approximately 15 thousand million roubles. Over 3.5 thousand economic projects have been built or are under construction with the assistance of the peoples of the socialist community.

The training facilities offered in the countries of the socialist community are of great importance for the development of the young national states. More than 41 thousand young people from over 100 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are studying in secondary specialised and higher schools in the member countries of CMEA, and more than 350 thousand technicians and other specialists have now returned to work in the developing countries.

Over the recent years a growing number of developing countries have drawn closer to the socialist community of nations, and important treaties and agreements have been signed. The Soviet Union, for example, has signed agreements on friendship and co-operation with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. There is increasing co-operation between the young states and the socialist countries in the struggle to achieve a restructuring of the system of international economic relations and to liberate the developing countries from exploitation by international im-

perialism. Joint action on major international issues and in the struggle for peace and security is also being more actively pursued.

All these factors help to strengthen the position of the young states, who now occupy an important place in the system of international relations and are exerting a beneficial influence on the expansion of struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism. Their influence on the activity of the United Nations has increased dramatically. By the beginning of 1981, UNO had 151 member states, of which more than 110 are developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The majority of independent states have, to some degree or other, adopted a policy of non-alignment, a policy characterised by anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Non-alignment is one form of the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems, and it reflects the desire of the peoples of the young states to contribute to the achievement of a stable and just peace.

The newly-independent states, supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, are waging a struggle with the imperialist powers to obtain a radical restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The developing countries are moving from isolated individual actions to joint efforts to oppose the neo-colonial policies of imperialism.

The deepening crisis within capitalism, the serious problems it is encountering as regards energy and raw materials, has revealed that even the economy of the leading imperialist powers is directly dependent upon the terms under which they have access to the energy and raw material resources of the developing countries. In the total consumption of imperialist centres (the USA, the EEC and Japan), the share of foreign supplies of such important raw materials as iron, aluminium, chromium, cobalt, copper, tin, tungsten, oil, natural rubber is at present 75-100 per cent.

Nonetheless, the imperialist states are striving to retain control over the newly-independent countries and to influence their economy and politics. To this end they are adapting their tactics to the changed circumstances and modifying their neo-colonial policies. Imperialism continues to

support fascist, racist and neocolonial regimes, increasingly resorts to such methods as the provocation of enmity and conflict among the peoples of the newly-independent states, supplying arms and mercenaries to its henchmen, and patching together various military groupings among countries with pro-imperialist regimes. It is also attempting to make use of such "classical" methods as armed intervention, and open interference in the internal affairs of independent states, ignoring their sovereign rights.

The policy and ideology of Maoism have become particularly dangerous for the developing countries. While the young states require detente as an important condition of successful economic construction and social progress, Peking is attempting to fan the flames of enmity and discord and is provoking armed conflicts. The Chinese leadership, posing as a supporter of the revolutionary movement in Asia and Africa, has, in fact, no desire to assist the revolutionaries. Nursing its own hegemonistic plans in Asia, Peking is using various extremist groups in the Asian countries for pressure and blackmail. With this end in view, it is seeking assistance from Chinese living in other countries (the so-called huaqiao).

The Maoists are spreading the anti-Marxist theory of "three worlds" among the developing countries. Numbering China among the states of the Third World, the Peking leadership is trying to draw the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America into a Chinese-controlled anti-Soviet coalition.

The young states have become the object of an extensive ideological campaign on the part of imperialism. Imperialist propaganda is doing all in its power to prove the impracticability of the changes planned by the young states and to present the path of capitalist development as the only correct one. The concept of the "interdependence" and common fate of the capitalist West and the East is being widely propagated. Such concepts as that of the developing states maintaining an "equal distance" from both imperialism and socialism, of "rich" and "poor" nations, "two super powers", etc., present a serious threat to the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the developing countries. These, like the Maoist theory of "three worlds", are designed to equate the socialist community

with the capitalist world and drive a wedge between the developing countries and the socialist nations.

Despite these various obstacles, the national liberation movement is achieving further successes in its struggle against imperialism. Working together with other revolutionary forces and with the countries of the socialist community, the peoples of the newly-independent nations are moving along the path of independence and progress with growing confidence and are making an ever greater contribution to the achievement of radical change in contemporary society.

XXII. The Class Struggle in the Capitalist Countries

The Working-Class Movement Today

Of great importance in world revolutionary process today is the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries to defend their everyday economic, political and cultural interests and their democratic rights and freedoms.

The working-class movement arose as an independent political force in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had become particularly acute. The working class achieved historic successes in its revolutionary struggle, and its major triumph was the foundation and consolidation of the world system of socialism. The ruling working class became a powerful force for social progress.

The working-class movement in the strongholds of capital is also experiencing a period of rapid development. Its struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie is intensifying, and its position in the liberated countries is gaining strength.

The Marxist-Leninist tenet on the world-historic role of the proletariat, its revolutionary mission, is subject to vicious attacks by bourgeois ideologists. Manipulating the "latest data", the critics of Marxism try to prove that the modern working class is ceasing to be revolutionary as a result of increased material prosperity and a reduction in its numbers. Bourgeois propaganda has much to say about the "enviable" material position of the working class, and, indeed, the real pay of certain sections of the proletariat is increasing. However, one must not forget the new problems created by the latest methods of production—nervous exhaustion, industrial injury, intensification of labour, and

unemployment—that are the scourge of the working class.

Marx once wrote that "if the income of the worker increases with the rapid growth of capital, the social gulf that separates the worker from the capitalist increases at the same time, and the power of capital over labour, the dependence of labour on capital, likewise increases at the same time...." "The material position of the worker has improved but at the cost of his social position,... the social position of the worker has deteriorated, has been depressed one step further below that of the capitalist."¹ Marx uses a very apt metaphor to reveal the essence of this process: "A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But let a palace arise beside the little house, and it shrinks from a little house to a hut. The little house shows now that its owner has only very slight or no demands to make; and however high it may shoot up in the course of civilisation, if the neighbouring palace grows to an equal or even greater extent, the occupant of the relatively small house will feel more and more uncomfortable, dissatisfied, and cramped within its four walls."² This is the feeling experienced by the worker in his small and slowly increasing house (and most of that growth is the result of his tireless struggle for his own interests) beside the rapidly growing palaces of capitalist business.

Lenin also noted that in capitalist society poverty increases "not in the physical but in the social sense, i.e. in the sense of the disparity between the increasing level of consumption by the bourgeoisie and consumption by society as a whole, and the level of the living standards of the working people".³

The stratification of society is intensifying and the social deprivation of the working people is increasing. In the USA, for example, if one takes the figures on the process-

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, March 6-May 19, 1849" in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 220-21 and 248-49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Review. Karl Kautsky, *Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 201.

ing industry, the increase in the real pay of the workers is 7 times less than the growth in the profits of the major companies. It should also be remembered that pay rises are covered by further labour intensification leading to rapid nervous and physical exhaustion among the work force.

Thus the social position of the worker is deteriorating, his social deprivation is increasing, the gap between his pay and the increased demands generated by the very development of production is growing. He is reduced to an adjunct of the machine and maimed both intellectually and physically. Capitalism is constantly reproducing the very system that makes the working class a revolutionary force. This important fact was clearly noted at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in 1969: "Contrary to assertion about the 'revolution in incomes' and 'social partnership', capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits."

Let us now examine yet another argument advanced by bourgeois theoreticians. As the number of workers engaged in physical labour is falling in the developed capitalist countries, they conclude that the working class is undergoing a process of gradual reduction and is being expelled from its role of historical leader by the growing mass of skilled workers and specialists—the intelligentsia. Therefore, they argue, the Marxists are mistaken in relying upon the working class. However, Marxists have never interpreted the term "proletariat" to include only those engaged in physical labour. The working class is the class of wage and salary workers who are deprived of ownership of the means of production, who live exclusively by the sale of their labour-power, and who are exploited directly by capital in the process of capitalist production. Imperialism is characterised by an increasing proletarianisation of intellectuals who are drawing closer to the working class, and sometimes constitute a specific group within the latter. The result is therefore, not a reduction of the working class, not a diminution of the social base of socialist revolution, but rather its expansion due to the inclusion of new ranks of hired labour.

History has shown that in the period of monopolistic capital the working class remains the main, the decisive and ever growing force of revolution. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the working class numbered 9 million; by the beginning of the twentieth century this figure had risen to 30 million, and by the beginning of the 1970s it had reached 540 million. Of these, approximately 250 million are members of trade unions (the majority of these in the socialist countries). The multi-million working class in the capitalist countries is waging a ceaseless and escalating struggle against big capital—the main cause of social suffering.

The Strike Movement

The mounting struggle of workers in the capitalist countries is clearly revealed in the upsurge of the strike movement. It has now reached its highest level in several decades.

The strike struggle is including ever new categories of workers; state employees, engineers and technical workers, research workers, women, young people, foreign workers and farm workers are striking with increasing frequency. A typical feature of the strike movement in capitalist countries is the increasing number of strikes involving education and the service industries, in particular transport, education and other municipal services.

Recent years have seen an increase in the number of national or general strikes. These forms of struggle on the part of the working class assume an important political significance and often develop into demonstrations against the entire system of state-monopoly capital. There has also been an increase in worker take-over of factories scheduled for closure, and production is often continued in such cases.

Finally, an extremely important factor in the development of the strike movement over recent years has been its growing internationalisation. Jointly agreed demonstrations by workers in various countries are occurring more and more frequently.

From the beginning of the 1970s the struggle of the working class has become increasingly political in nature. The demands of the working class are now more closely connected with key problems of socio-economic relations and directed against the anti-worker, anti-popular policies of the ruling circles.

Working-class organisations are coming to a better understanding of the importance of the struggle against the multinational monopolies. There are growing demands that the sale to foreign companies of factories and natural resources essential to the economy and defence of the country be prohibited, and that effective measures be taken to prevent tax evasion on the part of large monopolies. The combined struggle of the working class of different countries against multinational monopolies is gaining in scope.

It is clear, therefore, that the present stage in the development of the working-class movement is characterised by the growing struggle of the proletariat in defence of its own interests and its emergence on the socio-political scene as the major social force challenging capitalist society.

The Consolidation of the Forces of the Left

Against the background of intensifying struggle on the part of the proletariat, the communist parties are continuing to gather strength. Extending their links with the masses, they are actively organising the struggle of the working class to win an improvement in its economic and social position and to achieve democracy, social progress and peace.

The sharpening of the class conflict has also left its mark on the social-democratic movement, which enjoys considerable political influence. The social-democratic parties poll about 80 million votes at election time and some have members in government. However, "Social-democracy could do more for the defence of the vital interests of the peoples, and above all for the consolidation of peace, for improving the international situation, for repulsing fascism and racism, and the offensive of reactionary forces on the political rights of the working people. In practice, however, the so-

cial-democratic leaders do not always act along these lines."¹

One might assume that those social-democratic parties that incorporate anti-imperialist and anti-monopolist slogans in their programmes thereby improve their possibilities of success in a situation of intensifying class conflict. However, by skilful use of new circumstances and by adapting themselves to the tactics of big capital, the right-wing forces within Social-Democracy retain, and sometimes even consolidate, their position.

Experience shows that Social-Democracy can retain its influence among a wide section of the population if it emphasises the positive aspects of its policies. However, the inconclusive and inconsistent nature of many of its actions and its inability to adopt a clear anti-monopoly platform are impeding the growth of the militant potential of the working class and prevent it from carrying through radical changes within society.

There has been a noticeable shift to the left in the trade-union movement, which includes large numbers of workers in various countries. The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has over 150 million members and comprises the national trade-union bodies of the socialist and a number of capitalist and developing countries. The trade unions of many capitalist countries have adopted a reformist platform and are members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) (around 60 million members) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) which is the international organ of the Christian trade unions (over 20 million members).

The shift to the left in the trade-union movement following the aggravation of the class struggle has found expression primarily in a politicisation of its basic slogans. Today the trade unions are discussing not only such questions as guaranteed wage levels, tax reductions, full employment, etc., but also key issues relating to economic and political development and the struggle to democratise pub-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, p. 17.

lic life. In addition, such democratic demands are increasingly linked to a policy of radical social change. The executive committee of the French General Confederation of Labour noted that "democratic and anti-capitalist measures are inseparable: it is impossible to democratise the life of the country without attacking privilege in every sphere".

A distinct strengthening of left-wing tendencies became apparent at the British trade-union congress. In Italy, in a situation of constant mass action by the workers, the whole of the trade-union movement occupies a left-wing position. On the initiative of Italian workers' organisations, the three major trade-union associations in the country—Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL), Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (CISL) and Unione Italiana del Lavoro (UIL)—have formed a single federation, which has considerably strengthened the influence of the Italian working class. Now no important question concerning the economic, social or political life of Italy can be decided without taking into account the position of the trade unions on the subject. The trade union movement in the FRG is often sharply critical of the capitalist economic system, and the workers are increasingly active in their efforts to secure improvements in the sphere of social relations. Their demands include guaranteed employment and confidence in the future, a reform of the educational system, professional training and retraining for the work force, improvements in the medical services, public transport, provision of leisure facilities, and protection of the environment. Radical attitudes are also spreading through the trade-union movements in Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and other countries.

The Communists give their active support to increased militant activity by the trade-union movement. In many countries Communists often hold important posts in trade-union organisations. In 1974, the Union of German Trade Unions (FRG) removed from its statutes a clause declaring that it "actively opposes communism". The Dutch trade unions have altered a clause in their statutes declaring membership of a Dutch trade union to be incompatible with membership of the Communist Party or any of its affiliated organisations.

The World Confederation of Labour has also considerably changed its position. The 18th Congress held in 1973 argued for recognition of the class struggle, the class nature of the trade-union movement and the need for unity among the workers. It also called for capitalism to be replaced by a "democratic social system" based on public ownership of the means of production.

The Move Towards Working-Class Unity

The shifts that have taken place in the working-class movement have helped to strengthen the desire for unity among its various branches, and have created the conditions necessary for a rapprochement on many issues pertaining to domestic and foreign policy. The deepening crisis within capitalism, the violation by industrialists of the rights of the workers, and the development and expansion of the anti-monopoly movement in many countries have all made it imperative that the workers unite their efforts. At the same time, such common tasks as the struggle for peace and opposition to colonialism and imperialist aggression are growing in importance.

In many countries, the question of unity within the working class is primarily a question of establishing relations between the Communists and the Social-Democrats. The Communists are dealing with this question from a principled position, taking into account the interests of the whole working-class movement. The 1976 Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties once more emphasised the willingness of its members to contribute to equitable co-operation with all the forces of democracy, and in particular with the socialist and social-democratic parties, in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress. At the same time, the conference repeated its rejection of any policy or world outlook that meant, in essence, the subordination of the working class to the capitalist system.

The position of the CPSU as regards the unity of the international working-class movement has always been clear and consistent. In the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU it was noted that Communists are united with the Social-Democrats aware of their responsibility for the cause

of peace, and more particularly with working-class Social-Democrats, in a common concern for world security, a common desire to halt the arms race and a common rejection of fascism, racism and colonialism. However, the congress emphasised that there can be no question of merging scientific communism with the reformism of the Social-Democrats. There are still not a few Social-Democrats whose activity is based entirely on anti-communism and anti-sovietism and there are even social-democratic parties that inflict penalties upon their members for associating with Communists. Such activity must be opposed, for it is a clear manifestation of reaction.

Over recent years, as a result of changes in the international situation, the growing international authority of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, and shifts within the working-class movement a number of social-democratic parties have shown a willingness to co-operate with the Communists, particularly on issues of international importance. Contacts between certain social-democratic parties and the CPSU and other ruling communist parties have improved.

As was noted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, "Further advances were registered, in particular, in our ties with the socialist and social-democratic parties of Finland, Belgium, Sweden, Japan, Spain and a number of other countries—and this chiefly on questions of struggle against the war danger. Of *high* importance here were our contacts with the leadership of the Socialist International, our participation in the Socialist International's conference on disarmament, the contacts we had with its study group on disarmament, and the reception of its delegation at the CPSU Central Committee."¹

The Strategy of the Anti-Monopoly Struggle

At the present stage in the world revolutionary process, the main task of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is to carry through anti-monopoly,

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, p. 17.

democratic changes that prepare the way for the struggle for socialism.

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted in its documents that, despite all the efforts of imperialism to adapt to the existence of the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, the contradictions within capitalism remain and are intensifying, giving rise to new contradictions. Imperialism is coming into conflict with the vital interests of those engaged in both physical and intellectual labour, and of people belonging to different social strata, nations and countries. Ever greater numbers of working people, broad sections of the population and even whole nations are rising up against imperialism. The meeting concluded that the number of allies of the working class will definitely grow, and that they can be merged into one, single anti-monopoly front.

History has shown that an alliance is only stable if the allies share common interests on important issues. Is there such a community of interests between the proletariat and the middle sections of society—a community of views that could serve as the basis of unity in the struggle against monopoly capital? Undoubtedly there is. Although the middle sections of the population constitute a complex mixture of various social groups (farmers, civil servants, small-scale manufacturers, workers in the service industries, etc.) of which each has its own specific interests, these people are mainly working people who do not exploit the labour of others; indeed, many are themselves the victims of exploitation by monopoly capital frequently playing the part of a "detail" labourers for it. Therefore, despite the fact that many of them have a private-owner mentality, there are essential reasons for their joining the anti-monopoly bloc. Lenin wrote that, in the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie will "*objectively ... attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it...*"¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356.

It is precisely this desire to "attack capital" that creates the stable community of interests upon which the anti-monopoly alliance of the working class and the middle sections of the population can be built. The 1976 Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties emphasised in its documents that the economic and social structure of capitalist society is coming more and more into conflict with the needs of the working people and population as a whole, and also with the demands of social progress and democratic political development. Communists have come to the conclusion that all classes and social groups that occupy an intermediary position between the proletariat and the monopolist bourgeoisie can be allies of the working class in its struggle against monopolies, for they all feel to some degree the oppression of big capital. The aggravation of the general crisis gripping every sphere of capitalist society is clearly revealing the inability of state-monopoly capitalism to solve urgent social problems and is rousing the general population to a decisive struggle against the entire system of monopoly rule. This is why the democratic programmes put forward by the communist parties are receiving growing support.

The democratic platform of the Communists is, first and foremost, *anti-monopolist*. It is directed against the economic, political and ideological domination of monopoly capital. The abolition of private property is not directly mentioned. However, this platform is closely linked to socialist objectives insofar as to undermine the rule of monopoly capital means inevitably to shake the foundations of the bourgeois system and thus give the democratic changes an anti-capitalist content. There is, as Lenin said, no "Chinese Wall" between democratic and socialist objectives. The Communists work on the supposition that the struggle to extend democracy will enable maximum use to be made of the revolutionary potential of all progressive forces which can then be directed against monopoly domination.

Communists see the aim of anti-monopoly struggle to be the weakening of the position of the ruling class and the elimination of obstacles impeding the development of the revolutionary process. This means an attack on big capital in every sphere of public life, and the combination of the struggle for economic and social change with the struggle

for the democratisation of the state and the entire political system.

It should be noted that long-term success in this struggle can only be achieved on the basis of the *leadership of the working class* within the alliance of anti-monopolist forces.

The position of leadership enjoyed by the working class does not spring from its desire to take the lead, nor from the ambition of its leaders, but from its objective position in the social structure of capitalist society. It is the most numerous and the most united, and therefore the strongest group. It is the most exploited and the most deprived, and therefore the most revolutionary group of the working people. It is not difficult to see that the middle sections of society belong to the "waverers"—and this is natural, for as workers they have common interests with the proletariat, while as owners of private property they feel a certain sympathy for the bourgeoisie. Unlike the working class, they do not occupy a central position in national production, are only loosely united and insufficiently organised. Can such a force be the leader of the historical battle against monopoly capital?

The working class demonstrates its right to sole leadership of the other mass democratic forces by the fact that it is a resolute fighter for the interests of other social sections of the population, while no other class sets itself such a task. Marx formulated one of the most important tasks of the working class as follows: "... To do directly for the peasants at least as much as the French bourgeoisie did for the then existing French peasants during its revolution".¹ The peasantry will naturally follow that class whose aim is to defend the interests of the peasants.

The forces composing the anti-monopolist alliance are, as we have already seen, unequal both in social and in political terms. The aim of the working-class movement is to move from this inequality to the genuine equality of all via a number of stages in the revolutionary struggle. It is this that makes the leadership of the proletariat within the social alliance an objective necessity.

The formation of an anti-monopoly alliance requires that

¹ K. Marx, "From Comments on Bakunin's Book, *Statehood and Anarchy*" in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 412.

the communist parties widely explain and substantiate their slogans, their present practical objectives and long-term aims. This is why it is essential to clarify the specific content of the link between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. This is why the main emphasis in theoretical and political debates must be put on the questions pertaining to democracy under capitalism and under socialism and on the attitude to the experience of real socialism, and the relationship between democracy and revolution. The Marxist-Leninist theory and the enormous experience of the communist movement provide a reliable basis for finding the correct solution of these questions within the context of the conditions prevailing in different countries.

The programme demands of the communist parties in the anti-monopolist struggle include slogans that combine the everyday requirements of the people with the interests of the movement towards socialism. In formulating such slogans, Communists strive to demonstrate concretely and convincingly the advantages for the people of the new system. In so doing, it is particularly important to popularise the achievements of real socialism. The successes of the socialist countries, which have put an end to exploitation and are developing free of crises, solving fundamental socio-economic and political problems in the interests of the working people and ensuring in practical terms the rights of the individual to work, leisure, social security and education, are eloquent testimony of the advantages of socialism. The more people are acquainted with the achievements of socialism, the more they can appreciate the scale and complexity of the problems that had to be solved and were solved, the greater will be the number of convinced supporters of the new social system. The General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro A. Kunhal declared that the dissemination of the truth about existing socialism in the capitalist countries and in the countries that have liberated themselves from colonialism is one of the most effective means of affirming the ideas of socialism and communism and of strengthening the faith and resolution of the working people to wage a struggle for these ideas.

The anti-monopolist programmes drawn up by the Communists provide for profound changes in various spheres,

for the establishment of democracy in the economic, social and political life of society. This means that banking circles and industrial monopolies, who have seized the key positions in the economy, must be brought under the control of the working people, and that blue and white collar workers should participate in economic decision-taking, and particularly in the management of nationalised enterprises and in planning. Social democracy consists in creating a society in which all the working people can genuinely enjoy the fruits of their own labour, cease to be the objects of injustice and discrimination, receive an income that corresponds to the volume and quality of the work they accomplish and have the guaranteed right to raise their education and professional qualifications. The Communists envisage a democratic reform of the system of government that will eliminate the dependence of the state apparatus on monopoly capital.

The anti-monopolist programmes include the democratic nationalisation of enterprises, the guaranteed right to work, the establishment of genuinely humane production relations, the right to housing, to social security, to the use of communal services, to medical treatment, to a healthy environment, to education, to constructive leisure, and to cultural benefits, the establishment of full equality for men, women and young people, the defence of the rights of immigrants and national minorities, etc.

An analysis of the problems facing the working-class movement today shows that the proletariat is emerging onto the political arena as the main force capable of uniting the people and ensuring the forward development of society. The working class and its allies are exerting increasing pressure on the positions held by the monopolist bourgeoisie. The proletariat becomes more aware of its responsibility for the destiny of the modern world, and the future will undoubtedly bring it further victories in the struggle for social liberation and human progress.

XXIII. The International Communist Movement— the Most Influential Political Force in the Modern World

The Growing Role of the Communist Movement

One of the most important factors in the political life of the modern world is the international communist movement, which is the true vanguard of the working class and all democratic and progressive forces. In a report delivered in honour of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leonid Brezhnev declared: "The Communists won a place for themselves in society long ago. They won it precisely by their revolutionary struggle. Their role in society is recognised by the peoples, and no one can deprive them of it!"

The communist movement expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people, and is the only political force whose activity is based on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and corresponds to the objective laws of social progress. History has shown that only the communist parties are capable of correctly determining the path to be followed in social transformation and of inspiring the people to revolutionary creativity.

The growing might of the international communist movement springs from its unswerving loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and from its unwearying and selfless struggle on behalf of the working people, for peace and social progress. Having developed into a genuinely world-wide movement that rallies together all the progressive forces of contemporary society, it moves irresistibly onwards to its noble goal—the radical transformation of social life, the full liberation of the working people and of all the peoples of the world

from social and national oppression and exploitation.

The socialist revolution in Russia, which inaugurated the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, opened a new chapter in the history of the struggle of the international proletariat and raised that struggle to a qualitatively higher level. The Great October Revolution stimulated the formation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries, parties capable of leading the struggle of the proletariat and all the working people for a transformation of society. Over the sixty years of its existence, the international communist movement has won a political and ideological position far superior to that of any other political movement. The speed with which Communists have extended their influence is without parallel in the history of political movements.

The largest and most powerful section of the international communist movement is made up of those communist parties who are in power in the countries of the socialist community. They play a key role in the life of socialist society and constitute its guiding and leading force. As the ruling parties they determine the direction of social development and decide how to use all its economic, political, ideological and other resources. They have acquired enormous authority in the eyes of the working people and enjoy their full support. The growing co-operation of the communist parties and unity among the socialist countries are important factors in this authority and influence.

The communist movement is also growing in the non-socialist countries. In the twenty countries of Western Europe, the communist parties have a membership of 3,200 thousand. In North and South America there are 26 communist parties with a total membership of around 400 thousand. In Asia there are 21 communist parties with a membership of over one million. Africa has 10 communist parties and there are two communist parties in Australia and Oceania. Membership of the communist parties is constantly increasing, as is the number of large communist parties who have close links with mass organisations.

Communists are the guiding force in many national and international trade unions, youth and women's associations, and other mass public organisations. Over 40 million electors vote for communist party candidates in non-socialist

countries, and around 30 communist and workers' parties have representatives in parliament. In some countries, communist delegates are members of the government. Around 30 communist parties are widely represented in local government organs, and many Communists are mayors, general counselors, or occupy other important administrative posts, all of which testifies to the growing authority of the communist movement and its increasing activity.

The ideological influence of the Communists has also shown a marked increase. The fraternal parties publish over six thousand newspapers and magazines, some of which have large editions. In many countries the communist press has become a major factor in forming public opinion. Festivals of the communist press enjoy wide popularity, with hundreds of thousands of people taking part. Communist publications are also distributed illegally in countries ruled by anti-popular dictatorships.

The communist parties in the capitalist countries have helped to bring about a considerable upsurge in the working-class movement, to rally it on a class basis, raise the political consciousness of the working class and broaden its struggle against monopoly capital, for its immediate and fundamental interests and for profound social change.

Italy and France, two of the six major capitalist countries, have extremely influential communist parties. Against a background of national crisis and the emergence of extreme right-wing, neo-fascist forces, the Italian Communist Party has strengthened and extended its influence. It has a membership of around 1.8 million, and enjoys considerable authority among the people. In the parliamentary elections held in 1979, over 30 per cent of the electorate voted for communist candidates, and the party is widely represented in local government bodies. Over half the population of the country lives in areas whose local government has a communist majority.

The Italian Communist Party exerts considerable influence on the political life of the country and on the formation of public opinion. Its aim is to further extend the mass movement of the people so as to win political victories in the struggle against the power of monopoly capital and in support of radical social change.

The French Communist Party is also a major political force. At the beginning of 1981 it had a membership over 700 thousand. Around 30 thousand primary party organisations are operating in nearly all large-scale enterprises, in every town and city and in many villages. Communists have considerable influence within the trade unions and other mass public organisations.

The oldest and largest communist party in Latin America is the Communist Party of Argentina. Banned until 1973, it then gave its active support to a number of progressive measures taken by the new democratic regime and designed to strengthen national independence and intensify the struggle against imperialist domination. The party improved its organisation, and its membership and influence increased. The military coup in March, 1976, resulted in a ban on political parties, and is now clearly being used by reactionary forces to restrict the struggle of the working class. Nonetheless, the Communists are still an important factor in public life.

With the overthrow of the fascist regime in April, 1974, the Portuguese Communist Party gained in strength, and by the beginning of the 1980's it had over 180 thousand members. It has established a network of party organisations in all the major towns and industrial centres and is the guiding influence in the national trade-union association Intersindicale, the Union of Student Communists, the Movement of Working Youth and also the Women's Democratic Movement. The Party publishes a daily newspaper, *Avante!*, as well as numerous local papers, papers for workers in different branches of industry, for peasants, young people, women, etc. The Portuguese Communist Party has become an important force in the political life of the country and is a resolute defender of the gains of the democratic revolution.

Following the collapse of the fascist military dictatorship in 1974, the Communist Party of Greece was at last able to work legally, and in the extraordinary parliamentary elections held in November, 1977, it won almost half a million votes (more than 9 per cent of the total) and 11 seats in parliament.

The development and continuing successes of the communist movement are causing serious concern among the

ruling circles of the leading capitalist countries. This can be seen in the unconcealed threats directed against the largest communist parties, and in the interference in the internal affairs of those countries where the communist parties are growing in strength. It can also be seen in the expressions of willingness on the part of the ruling circles to maintain contacts with these parties in order to influence them, draw them into class collaboration and thus divert them from the revolutionary struggle.

Some communist parties have experienced difficulties over recent years and have been obliged to retreat. Many parties are operating illegally, in conditions of savage repression. Even today thousands of Communists in capitalist countries are in prison. The arrests and torture of Communists continues in Chile, Uruguay, the Republic of South Africa, and a number of other countries. Various restrictive measures are also enforced against them, such as the infamous "employment ban" operating in the FRG and other countries, the refusal to grant Communists access to the mass media, and a variety of electoral restrictions. However, notwithstanding the difficulties in their path, the Communists are continuing their heroic struggle on behalf of the working people, for peace and social progress.

The international situation at present is such that communist parties have better opportunities to act and to improve their strategy and tactics. At the same time, new factors are arising in the development of the world communist movement itself. Different contingents of the communist movement are drawing closer together, reflecting the internationalisation of public and political life. This means that the problems facing the communist movement must be treated as constituting an interrelated whole. Events in one section of the movement, the successes and failures of one or another communist party, affect the position of other communist parties, the possibilities open to them and the conditions in which they must act.

Viewed as a whole, the communist movement is developing successfully. L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his Report to the 26th Party Congress: "The international working class and its political vanguard—the Communist and Workers' Parties—approached the eighties with confidence. They approached them as active fighters for the rights of the

working people, and for peace and the security of nations."¹

However, some parties fell victim to severe persecution. Right-wing forces have inflicted serious blows on the communist parties of Chile, Uruguay and other countries. Many parties are still dealing with problems of organisation and political consolidation, are seeking broad contact with the people and striving to overcome the obstacles put in their path by the ruling circles.

There has been an increase in the number of political forces, parties and organisations sympathetic to the communist movement and to Marxism-Leninism, an increase largely due to the emergence of revolutionary-democratic parties in the newly-independent countries. These lend additional power to the international communist movement and help to strengthen its position and enhance its role as the organising force of the world anti-imperialist movement. The shift by new progressive forces to the political and ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism is striking evidence of its ever growing influence.

The communist parties are seeking an effective strategy and tactic in solving the tasks before them, and useful contributions in this direction were made by the 1975 Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, the 1976 Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe and by the 1978 Conference of Arab Communist and Workers' Parties. Many parties are continuing their discussion of important points in their programmes.

Referring to the efforts being made by the communist parties to improve their strategy and tactics, Leonid Brezhnev emphasised: "They are striving to rally all the democratic forces in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies. Their theoretical guidelines in this context contain interesting points, though probably not everything here should be regarded as finalised and incontrovertible. This is understandable: a quest is a quest. What is important that it should proceed in the right direction.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, p. 22.

"Whatever routes are chosen, the ultimate mission of the Communists is to lead the masses to the principal goal, to socialism. The experience of the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution showed that changes of tactics, compromises in order to win new allies, are quite possible in revolutionary practice. But we are also convinced of something else: under no circumstances may principles be sacrificed for the sake of a tactical advantage. Otherwise, as the saying goes, you'll keep the hair, but lose your head."¹

The General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal, declared that, in solving their tactical and strategic tasks, Communists work on the principle that the choice of the correct revolutionary course to follow requires not only a scientific analysis of the given situation, but also an appreciation both of the experience of revolutionary struggle in one's own country and of the experience of the international revolutionary movement, including that of the October Revolution, which continues to be the richest source of revolutionary theory and practice.

The Significance of Co-operation and Solidarity Among Communist Parties

Close co-operation among the Marxist-Leninist parties is the unfailing source of the might of the international communist movement. It is their solidarity and joint action that have helped secure the victories won in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism over recent years. The CPSU and the other fraternal communist parties give their constant attention to strengthening the militant international unity of the communist movement.

Important questions of international co-operation among Communists have been discussed at various international meetings and conferences organised over the last few years by fraternal parties. The largest of such conferences was the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Berlin in 1976. It reaffirmed the principles governing relations among the fraternal parties, principles

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, pp. 24-25.

that have now become accepted practice within the communist movement. The participants at the Berlin Conference declared that they would develop their internationalist, comradesly and voluntary co-operation and solidarity on the basis of the noble ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, with strict adherence to the principles of the equality and sovereign independence of each party, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and respect of the freedom to choose various ways of waging struggle for progressive social changes and for socialism. The struggle for socialism in its own country and the responsibility of each party to its own working class and people are linked to solidarity among the working people of all nations, among all progressive movements and all peoples in the struggle for freedom, independence, democracy, socialism and peace throughout the world.

Active inter-party co-operation is reflected in the increase of bilateral contacts and links between communist parties. In many cases these links exist at every level, from party cells and local organisations to the leadership of the party. Meetings between party leaders are of particular importance. Reciprocal participation in party congresses is also instrumental in developing international links among Communists in various countries.

The magazine *World Marxist Review*, a joint publication that combines theoretical discussion with news and information, enjoys considerable popularity among the fraternal parties, of whom more than 60 are represented on the editorial council. The magazine is published in 34 languages and is available in over 140 countries throughout the world.

These and other forms of co-operation enable the communist parties to co-ordinate their activity on the international scene in the struggle to achieve their common ends, to discuss and agree upon the position to be adopted regarding various political and theoretical problems, and to pool experience.

The successes achieved in unifying the communist movement are all the more important in view of the objective difficulties that must be overcome. The process of international co-operation is rendered ever more complex by the rapid succession of events on the international scene, and by the different levels of socio-political development in va-

rious countries, which can give rise to different evaluations of and different approaches to specific political tasks. Certain difficulties arise as a consequence of the growth of the communist movement itself and the expansion of its social base, which bring with them the need to raise the level of the parties' ideological and political work among the people.

However, the main source of the difficulties impeding the course of international co-operation is the constant attacks on the communist movement by imperialist forces. The most elaborate attempts are being made to provoke dissension within the communist movement, and, above all, between the communist parties in non-socialist countries and the ruling parties in socialist countries. Features unique to the development of Western countries and to the activity of their communist parties are distorted and exaggerated, and the history of the West and the East are opposed. Bourgeois propaganda makes broad use of certain theoretical propositions put forward by communist parties at different stages in their search for new strategic and tactical solutions, by interpreting them according to its own purposes. One example of this is the fuss made by bourgeois ideologists in connection with the term "Eurocommunism" and their attempts to use it to set one group of communist parties against others. Many parties rebuffed the attempts to impose on them a false interpretation of the principles and methods of struggle for socialism and to distort the experience of existing socialism. They reaffirmed the importance of joint action and solidarity with the socialist countries, believing that the support of the peoples building a new society, of the peace-loving foreign policy of the socialist states and their consistent anti-imperialism is a valuable contribution to the common cause of Communists throughout the world.

In his Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev declared: "Critical judgements of separate concrete aspects of development in our country are sometimes voiced in some Communist parties. Far be it from us to think that everything we had was ideal. In the USSR, socialism was built in incredibly difficult conditions. And nobody knows better than we do what difficulties and shortcomings occurred along the way, and which of them have still to be overcome."

"We pay close heed to comradely, constructive criticism. But we are categorically opposed to 'criticism' which distorts the socialist reality and, wittingly or unwittingly, does a good turn thereby to imperialist propaganda, to our class opponent."¹

There is sharp criticism within the communist movement of the hegemonistic and chauvinistic course being pursued by the Chinese leadership and its alliance with imperialist circles. Communists severely condemned Chinese aggression against socialist Vietnam. Communist parties in various countries are repelling Maoist attacks on the international communist movement and rebuffing their attempts to split communist ranks. They are showing that the course being followed by the leadership of the People's Republic of China is profoundly hostile to the struggle for peace and social progress, and runs counter to the aspirations of the Chinese people themselves.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle and the anti-imperialist movement has confirmed the continuing importance of *proletarian internationalism*. This principle has stood the test of time and is one of the most important principles governing the activity of Communists, permeating the entire theory and practice of scientific communism. In practice, proletarian internationalism means the solidarity of workers and Communists throughout the world in the struggle to achieve their common goals; their support for the struggle of the peoples of the world for national liberation and social progress; voluntary co-operation among the equal and independent fraternal communist parties and their due consideration for the national and international interests of the working people when implementing their policies. Proletarian internationalism remains the tried and tested weapon of the communist and working-class movements.

There is and there can be no contradiction between the international and national objectives of the communist party. Adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism is essential to increasing the strength, authority and

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, p. 24.

influence of each communist party, and to successful fulfilment of its responsibilities to its own working class. At the same time, by participating effectively as a national force in the struggle to defend the interests of the working people and achieve unity among the left-wing, democratic forces, each communist party helps to strengthen the whole communist movement and to further develop fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance among Communists.

Soviet Communists have the deepest respect for fellow Communists who are waging their struggle in the non-socialist section of the world. In his Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev stated: "We express our deep-felt solidarity with our Communist brothers languishing in the dungeons of fascist dictatorships, with those persecuted by the police or fighting their hard battles underground. We express our solidarity with those subjected to discrimination and deprived of civil and political rights merely for their convictions, for belonging to the party of the working class."¹ The whole of the development of the communist movement is a clear and convincing confirmation of Lenin's words when he wrote that "selfless devotion to the revolution and revolutionary propaganda among the people are not wasted, even if long decades divide the sowing from the harvest."² The selfless struggle of Communists is constantly bearing new fruit in the minds of millions.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, pp. 26-27.

² V. I. Lenin, "In Memory of Herzen", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 31.

XXIV. The Leninist Peace Policy

The Main Principles and Features of Soviet Foreign Policy

From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet Union has consistently pursued a Leninist foreign policy corresponding to the fundamental interests of the working people.

Lenin declared that the foreign policy of the Soviet state reflects its desire to "live in peace with all peoples and devote all its efforts to internal development"¹ and also "to secure and shorten the road leading mankind ... to the creation of socialist society, and to an enduring, just peace."²

The pursuit of a peaceful foreign policy is part of the very nature of the socialist system, which excludes any form of aggression, seizure of foreign territory or enslavement of peoples. The country of Soviets emerged under the banner of peace. The first law promulgated by the victorious socialist revolution was Lenin's Decree on Peace, which proclaimed the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence to be the keystone of the foreign policy to be pursued by the socialist state.

The principle of proletarian internationalism meant, in the conditions then obtaining, solidarity and mutual support between the working people of Soviet Russia and those of other countries in the struggle to end the bloodshed of imperialist war and establish a just democratic peace, and to defend and consolidate the gains of the October Revolution.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Eighth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), December 2-4, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 191.

² V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, March 14-16, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 201.

With the formation of the world socialist system, the principle of internationalism became the guiding principle of the foreign policy of each socialist country in its relations with the other member countries of the socialist community, and also with the working people in capitalist countries and the peoples of the young, newly-independent states fighting imperialism.

The Soviet Union gives its unswerving support to the peoples fighting for their liberation from economic and political dependence, and opposes imperialist encroachments on the rights of nations. The foreign policy of the USSR is designed to ensure that the fundamental issues of modern world development and social order are decided by the peoples themselves according to their sovereign will.

Let us now examine *the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems*. This principle follows direct from Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, from his proposition that, given the uneven development of capitalism, the revolution cannot triumph immediately throughout the world. Therefore it is inevitable that states with opposing socio-economic systems will coexist over a long period of time. The antithetical nature of the two systems leads to bitter conflict between them. This conflict may be armed or unarmed, but the natural tendency of imperialism to aggression and expansion pushes it irresistibly towards war with socialism. However, potential aggression need not necessarily become actual aggression. This depends on the balance of forces.

From the very first, the Soviet Union adopted a policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. However, several decades passed before the ruling circles in the major capitalist countries began seriously to consider the concept of peaceful coexistence. They did so when it became apparent that there had been a change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism. The capitalist countries came to appreciate the might and stability of the socialist states, while it became obvious that the position of capitalism had been weakened.

Peaceful coexistence implies that international conflicts should be solved by peaceful means. It presupposes a refusal to engage in hostile activity or cold war, relying upon mutual trust and the development of wide-ranging

and varied international links. Peaceful coexistence is based on the following principles: a refusal to use war as a means of solving disputed issues, and their solution through negotiations; equality, mutual understanding and trust between states and consideration for each other's interests; non-interference in each other's internal affairs based on the recognition of the right of each nation to solve its own problems independently; absolute respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country; the development of economic and cultural co-operation on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit. Acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence means an agreement to regulate all forms of international relations without war, on the basis of mutual understanding and co-operation.

Naturally, it does not follow from this that the opposition between the two systems disappears, for it is impossible to halt the operation of the objective laws of history, impossible to abolish the antagonism between capitalism and socialism. Speaking at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev said: "It could not be clearer, after all, that detente and peaceful coexistence have to do with interstate relations. This means above all that disputes and conflicts between countries are not to be settled by war, by the use or threat of force. Detente does not in the slightest abolish, nor can it abolish or alter, the laws of the class struggle. No one should expect that because of the detente Communists will reconcile themselves with capitalist exploitation or that monopolists will become followers of the revolution."¹

Do we then have co-operation and rivalry simultaneously? Yes, this is both possible and unavoidable as international relations are exceptionally complex and diverse. The history of international relations offers many examples of compromise by both sides who preferred peace to destructive collision. This was, of course, always a course dictated by objective circumstances and a specific balance of forces. There are many instances in history of two hostile sides agreeing on the forms their conflict should take, on the weapons to be used, etc. Recent decades have also seen a large

¹ Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, p. 39.

number of international agreements on the types and levels of arms, including treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear arms, on the prohibition of nuclear tests on land, in the atmosphere and under water and on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons.

Peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems does not alter the inner nature of these states, but it creates new external conditions in which the rivalry between the two social systems and the conflict between the forces of reaction and progress develop yet further.

Peaceful Coexistence and the Class Struggle

Detente reflects the historical advance of socialism. Both detente and the conditions of the class struggle characteristic of detente have been imposed upon imperialism. Communists are fully aware that bourgeois politicians will not alter their basic outlook. They are attempting to exploit detente to the full in order to strengthen their position and disarm socialism both ideologically and politically. While agreeing to peaceful coexistence, the class enemy is devising a new tactic that will enable him to use the present conditions for undermining the socialist system.

The capitalist states often try to use economic links with the socialist countries as a means of exerting political pressure, resorting to various kinds of embargo, and discriminatory restrictions. This situation is further aggravated by the worsening world economic situation and sharp price increases. In the second half of the 1970s imperialist circles intensified their attacks on detente, bringing this process to a halt and further escalating the arms race. All of this puts a heavy burden on the socialist countries too.

The ideological struggle has also intensified. The West is putting into operation a whole system of ideological weapons designed to undermine and destroy the unity of the socialist world.

The ruling circles of the imperialist states are attempting to influence the peoples of the socialist countries in a number of ways, holding up before them the example of the social, political and cultural "values" of the imperialist world. They are attempting to impose on them a consumer ideology, and to encourage them to adopt a bourgeois mode

of thought and behaviour. However, capitalist attempts to influence socialist society are doomed inevitably to defeat, as socialism does not offer the socio-economic ground necessary for capitalist relations and ideals to take root. The socialist countries are, of course, interested in extending the international division of labour, and in material, cultural and scientific exchange. However, they can only support such a form of exchange that excludes bourgeois interference in their internal affairs.

Detente cannot but affect the course of events in capitalist countries. The prospect of peaceful, constructive development stimulates the energy of the people and intensifies their struggle. A situation of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems provides greater opportunities for spreading socialist ideas among the proletariat and other progressive forces, and for establishing closer links between workers', youth and women's organisations in various countries. Detente creates favourable conditions for developing relations between the workers in socialist and capitalist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

The expansion of economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries helps those workers who are suffering from the serious consequences of the capitalist crisis by providing many of them with work.

Peaceful coexistence assists the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries by weakening those aspects of domestic and foreign policy which played into the hands of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie. The sphere of influence of those forces who wish to pursue an anti-popular policy is thus reduced and more favourable conditions are created for the working people to wage struggle for their rights, for democratic development and for profound changes in the socio-economic and political system.

The Foreign Policy Programme

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, faithful to Lenin's behests, sees as the main aim of its foreign policy not only the prevention of a new world war but the perma-

ment elimination of war from human society. "We actively and persistently call for the contest between socialism and capitalism to be decided not on the field of battle, not on munitions conveyors, but in the sphere of peaceful work," Leonid Brezhnev emphasised. "We want the frontiers dividing the two worlds to be crossed not by flight paths of missiles with nuclear warheads, but by threads of broad and diversified co-operation for the good of all mankind."¹

Guided by the Leninist principles underlying Soviet foreign policy, the 24th Congress of the CPSU drew up and published a Peace Programme, which then formed the basis of Soviet activity on the international arena. Major steps were taken to encourage detente in relations between states with different social systems, to strengthen the security of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to advance the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. The Peace Programme was further developed at the 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU.

The international objectives of the Soviet Union are the following:

- by further consolidating the unity of the fraternal socialist states and developing their co-operation in building the new society to increase their joint contribution to the cause of peace;
- to achieve a halt to the escalating and ever more dangerous arms race, and then proceed to a reduction in the weapons already stock-piled and to disarmament;
- to concentrate the efforts of the peace-loving states on the problem of eliminating remaining sources of military conflict, and above all on achieving a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East;
- to do all in its power to promote international detente and give it a concrete form in mutually advantageous co-operation among states; to strive for the full implementation of the Final Act of the European Conference and the development of peaceful co-operation in Europe;
- to work for security in Asia on the basis of the joint efforts of the Asian states;

- to strive for the signing of a world treaty prohibiting the use of force in international relations;
- to consider as a priority the total elimination of every vestige of colonial oppression and violation of national equality and independence, of every source of colonialism and racism;
- to achieve the abolition of discrimination and artificial obstacles in international trade, together with any manifestations of inequality, imposition and exploitation in international economic relations.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have scored major successes on the international arena over the last decade, a period which has witnessed the further development of the socialist countries and new victories of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for national and social liberation. The forces fighting for peace and national and social liberation have made considerable progress.

However, in the second half of the 1970s the most reactionary imperialist circles, the manufacturers of weapons, the militarists and the advocates of cold war united together to mount a broad campaign against detente and disarmament. Pointing to a fictitious "Soviet threat" they demanded that more billions be spent on arms. They are attempting to suppress the popular liberation movement by force and are interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

The leaders of China have entered into a close alliance with those who are trying to reverse the wheel of history. Their aggression against socialist Vietnam revealed to the world the hegemonistic, chauvinist essence of their policy, which has become a serious threat to peace.

The Soviet Union is doing all in its power to further develop its co-operation with the forces of peace, freedom and progress, and to thwart the plans of those bent on aggression.

"Our struggle to strengthen peace and deepen detente is, above all, the struggle to secure the requisite external conditions for the Soviet people to carry out their constructive tasks," declared Leonid Brezhnev in his Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU. "Thereby we are also solving a problem of a truly global nature. For at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress*, p. 30.

preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being—the right to life.”¹

The CPSU, continuing its struggle to achieve a radical improvement in the international situation, made a series of major new proposals. The 26th Congress of the CPSU emphasised the willingness of the USSR to promote an atmosphere of trust in military matters, to conduct negotiations on creating such an atmosphere in the Far East, and also to continue negotiations with the USA on strategic arms limitation. The Party Congress proposed a moratorium on the quantity and quality of NATO and Soviet long-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and also suggested that an authoritative international commission be formed in order to emphasise the vital importance of avoiding a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union believes that it would be useful to convene a special meeting of the Security Council, attended by the leaders of its member states, in order to seek ways of improving the international situation and avoiding war.

Soviet Policy on a Just and Peaceful Settlement of International Conflicts and in Support of the National Liberation Movement

The CPSU and the Soviet government are pursuing a consistent policy aimed at securing a settlement of dangerous conflict situations in different regions of the world that are preventing problems from being solved in accord with the will of the people and are posing a threat to world peace.

The Soviet Union is constantly seeking to eliminate sources of military conflict and secure a lasting and peaceful settlement in the Middle East. It is taking political measures in this direction, defending the interests of the Arab peoples both inside and outside the United Nations Organisa-

tion, and is giving direct assistance to the Arab countries that are the victims of Israeli aggression, helping them to increase their economic and military might.

The Soviet Union is opposed to partial solutions of the Middle-East problem. It believes that any settlement must cover all the issues involved and take into account the interests of all the states and peoples of that region, their right to independent existence and development. For this reason it resolutely condemned the separate deal between Egypt and Israel that ignored the legitimate rights and interests of the other peoples of the Near East. In supporting a comprehensive settlement in this region, the Soviet Union emphasises that any such settlement must provide for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territory it has occupied since 1967, for the establishment of a Palestinian state, and for strict international security guarantees for every state in the area without exception. The Arab countries reject the capitulatory policy of the Cairo leadership, and are entering into close and mutually advantageous co-operation with the USSR, which they see as a loyal and consistent fighter for a just peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union considers the development of relations with the newly-independent countries of Africa to be of great importance. In a declaration published on June 23, 1978, the Soviet government outlined its programme for relations with African states. These relations are based on the principles of solidarity with the peoples fighting for independence and freedom and for national and social progress, of genuine equality, respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and of mutually beneficial co-operation. The Soviet Union resolutely condemns military and political interference in the internal affairs of African states and calls for the immediate elimination of all sources of tension and the settlement of disagreements between individual African states.

The Soviet Union is waging a consistent struggle for the eradication of racism and apartheid, and for the elimination of any remaining colonial regimes. When the People's Republic of Angola, having chosen to follow a socialist orientated path, became the victim of intervention, the Soviet Union was the first to come to its assistance. Thanks to the endurance and courage of the Angolan patriots and

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, p. 8.

the support they received from the socialist countries, the attempt by the forces of international imperialism to establish a neo-colonialist regime in Angola collapsed. The Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries gave effective help to Ethiopia, which also became a victim of aggression. In response to the request of the Afghan government, the USSR sent its armed forces to help defend the country against imperialist plots. The socialist countries are consistent supporters of the struggle of the people of Southern Africa, and of all those nations who are fighting for national liberation against imperialism.

The Soviet Union is making every effort to establish a lasting peace and friendly relations in Asia, and is developing mutually advantageous relations with many Asian countries. Of great importance in this respect is Soviet-Indian co-operation. Friendship between these two countries has stood the test of time, is not dependent upon circumstances, and is a major factor for peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world.

The Soviet Union supports those young states who wish to control their own national resources, and supports demands for a restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis that takes account of the interests of each and every nation. A new type of economic relationship is already forming between the socialist and the developing countries, and this is compelling the imperialists to make a number of concessions to the newly-independent states, enabling them to restrict the predatory activity of monopolies.

Detente

The CPSU and the Soviet government consider the achieving of peace, security and co-operation in Europe to be a task of prime importance. The persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries played a decisive role in the shift towards detente and peace in Europe. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which took place in Helsinki in 1975, came to a successful conclusion.

Thirty-three European states, together with the USA and

Canada, took part in the conference and signed the Final Act, which proclaimed the principles of peaceful co-existence that are to govern relations between them, and indicated concrete forms of co-operation in the economic, scientific and technological spheres and also in culture and protection of the environment. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU it was noted that, despite the efforts of those opposed to detente, peaceful co-operation in Europe between socialist and capitalist countries was, on the whole, progressing satisfactorily.

Friendly relations between the USSR and France have become an integral part of co-operation in Europe. As a result of top-level meetings between the two countries, a number of important Soviet-French documents have been signed, including the Protocol on Political Consultations (1970), the Principles of Co-operation between the USSR and France (1971), and the Programme for the Further Development of Co-operation Between the USSR and France for Detente and Peace (1979). These documents have done much to increase both economic and political co-operation between the two nations.

Relations between the USSR and the FRG have become a major factor in European stability and detente. A turning point in these relations was the treaty signed by the two countries in August, 1970. A number of agreements on co-operation in various spheres have also been concluded. In 1977, the FRG became the USSR's main trading partner among the capitalist countries, and it is proposed to expand economic relations between the two countries on a long-term basis, covering a period up to the turn of the century.

The Soviet Union calls for strict and complete adherence to the agreements reached in the 1970's. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU it was noted that Bonn sometimes tries to circumvent the four-power agreement on West Berlin, and to ignore the sovereignty of the GDR in a number of issues.

Considerable progress was also made during the 1970s in developing relations with other European countries, including Great Britain, Italy, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Denmark.

The rapid growth of economic and trading links between

capitalist and socialist countries is a direct result of detente. During the period from 1970 to 1975, Soviet trade with the capitalist countries increased from 4.7 to 15.8 thousand million roubles, and trade between CMEA and the capitalist countries rose from 13 to 44 thousand million roubles. By the end of the 1970s, approximately one quarter of Soviet machine and equipment exports were going to the developed capitalist countries.

Of prime importance in reducing the threat of war and furthering detente are relations between the USSR and the USA. At the beginning of the 1970s, Soviet-American relations improved, and contacts between the two countries in various spheres increased. Over 50 agreements on co-operation were concluded between the USSR and the USA. However, towards the end of the 1970s, the Carter administration reversed this trend. In an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Soviet Union, Washington suspended implementation of the SALT-2 treaty, began to cut back on bilateral contacts and embark upon measures designed to poison relations between the two countries. "We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side," Leonid Brezhnev declared at the 26th Party Congress. "This is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us. Attempts of that kind, and talking to us from a position of strength, are absolutely futile."¹

The Struggle for Disarmament

The 26th Congress of the CPSU described the halting of the arms race as a particularly important and urgent task. Rapid and far-reaching changes are taking place in military technology. New types of weapons are being developed, control of which, and therefore limitation of which, may prove exceptionally difficult if not impossible. Imperialism is continuing its accelerated preparations for war. The arms race has now reached an unprecedented level,

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, p. 31.

costing mankind thousands of millions of dollars so urgently needed for constructive purposes.

The policy of the socialist states on arms limitation is meeting with stubborn resistance on the part of imperialism. The NATO countries have adopted a negative attitude to constructive proposals put forward by the Soviet Union, including a world treaty prohibiting the use of force in international relations, and also a treaty in which the states who signed the Final Act of the European Conference would agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons one against the other. A NATO council held in Washington in May, 1978, adopted an additional arms programme, and President Carter decided to allow production of the "basic components" of the neutron bomb. Shortly thereafter plans were approved for the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries.

Western policy on disarmament and halting the arms race was revealed during Soviet-American negotiations on limiting strategic arms, and also during the Vienna talks on reducing arms and armed forces in Central Europe. The first SALT treaty was signed in 1972, and agreement in principle was reached on the signing of a new treaty. However, the American administration subsequently delayed the talks, trying to link them to Soviet fulfilment of demands that were in no way connected with the problem under review.

Thanks to the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union, the negotiations finally moved in a positive direction. The SALT-2 treaty was signed in June, 1979, providing for a quantitative reduction in arms and a halt on further qualitative improvements. Unfortunately, the American administration later refused to ratify this agreement.

The Soviet Union is securing a solution to the problem of disarmament on the broad basis of binding international agreements. The Soviet state presented a realistic programme of action to the 10th special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which took place in New York in May-June, 1978. This programme was based on the need for a total ban on the further quantitative and qualitative growth in the arms and armed forces belonging to states with a powerful military potential. The Soviet Union also proposed that a special session of the UN General As-

sembly adopt a resolution on the start of negotiations on nuclear disarmament and the prohibition of the use of force in international relations, that is draw up a preliminary programme of preparations for the talks and specify the date on which the talks were to begin. The Soviet Union proposes that production of nuclear arms of any kind should be reduced. It calls for an end to the manufacture and for the prohibition of every other weapon of mass destruction, and also for an end to the production of new conventional weapons with massive destructive force. The USSR suggested that the member states of the Security Council, and the states linked to them by military agreements, should refrain from any further increase in their armed forces and conventional arms.

There is no weapon that the Soviet Union is not prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis and in agreement with other states. The only condition is that such an agreement should not be detrimental to the security of any state. The USSR is prepared to take the most radical measures on disarmament, but the principle of equal security for all sides must be maintained at every stage on the way. The USSR will never weaken its defences in the face of the visibly growing military might of imperialism, whatever demagogic arguments are brought forward to the contrary. Such a step would do irreparable damage to the cause of socialism, to the cause of freedom and independence.

As a result of persistent efforts by the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all peace-loving forces, significant progress has been made in restraining the arms race. Conventions prohibiting bacteriological weapons and methods of affecting the natural environment for military purposes have now come into force. Steps have been taken to halt the spread of nuclear arms, including the creation of the first non-nuclear zone covering most of the countries of Latin America. The UN General Assembly approved Soviet proposals on security guarantees for non-nuclear states and on the non-deployment of nuclear arms on the territory of states not already possessing such arms. It also called on the nuclear powers to commence negotiations on halting the manufacture of nuclear arms and reducing stockpiles of such weapons. Preliminary agreement has been reached on an agreement prohibiting radiological weapons. Action by

peace-loving forces has succeeded in halting the deployment of neutron weapons in Western Europe.

The foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, united with the efforts of the fraternal socialist and the newly-independent countries, is helping to promote and strengthen positive trends in contemporary international life, and to turn detente into a continuous and irreversible process.

The first country of socialism is holding aloft the banner of peace and friendship among the peoples of the world.

Questions on Part Four

- (1) What are the characteristic features of the present period in history?
- (2) Why is imperialism the main enemy of social progress, freedom and independence?
- (3) What are the main revolutionary forces in the modern world and what are their common aims?
- (4) In what way does the world system of socialism influence contemporary social development?
- (5) How is the Comprehensive Programme for the development of socialist economic integration being put into action?
- (6) Describe the general crisis of capitalism as it manifests itself today.
- (7) Describe the struggle of the working class against the power of monopoly capital and in defence of the working people's rights.
- (8) What are the causes of the growing role of the world communist movement in contemporary society?
- (9) What is the most important international duty of a Communist?
- (10) Describe the national liberation movement today.
- (11) Explain why non-capitalist development is increasingly possible for peoples who have freed themselves from colonial oppression.
- (12) Explain the significance of the principle of peaceful co-existence among states with different social systems.
- (13) Describe the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and their support by the peoples of the world.

Looking to the Future

The authors of this book have examined the basic stages in the emergence, development, revolutionary confirmation and practical application of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

A theory that transforms the world! These are not just fine words, but an accurate description of the role played by Marxist-Leninist theory in the destiny of mankind. There had never been anything of the kind before in history. Such a transformation became possible because Marxism-Leninism, having arisen as the theoretical expression of the fundamental interests of the working class and having shown the working people the road to their liberation from exploitation, became their weapon. The fusion of revolutionary theory and the proletarian movement, which began with Marx' and Engels' writing of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, gave birth to an invincible and ever-growing force, the international communist movement, which inspires and organises the mass of the working people for their struggle in the name of a noble cause, that of wiping from the face of the earth the last exploiter society and asserting the ideals of peace, work, equality, freedom, brotherhood and happiness.

Mankind had nurtured these ideals down the centuries, dreaming of a just society in which all men would be equal and content, where there would be neither rich nor poor, oppressors nor oppressed, those who were leisured and those who were condemned to arduous physical labour. More than once the oppressed rose to fight for their freedom: the slaves rose against the slave-owners, the serfs against the

feudal landowners, but new chains, new forms of exploitation, were the only result.

However, with the emergence on the historical scene of the working class, armed with a scientific theory on the revolutionary transformation of the world, men at last had the opportunity to realise these ideals and build a communist society.

Exploitation and oppression has existed on the earth for around 3 thousand years. Socialism has existed in one part of the world for only a few decades, but in this short period it has brought about major changes that answer the age-old aspirations of mankind.

Socialism put an end to the exploitation of man by man and made the working people the masters of all the wealth of the country; it opened up the path to knowledge and made the cultural heritage of mankind accessible to all, enabling each individual to become an educated, cultured and active participant in productive and social life. It eliminated the opposition between town and country, between physical and intellectual work, ensured material prosperity and inspired in men the confidence that tomorrow will be better than today.

These are magnificent achievements, but they are only the beginning. There is still much to be done. Ahead lies the bright goal of a communist society.

What is a communist society?

Communism is a classless society in which there will be no division into worker, peasant and intellectual, a society in which full social and economic equality is established on the basis of ownership by the whole people.

Communism is a society in which there are no national or political boundaries dividing the peoples. It is a society in which the nations, to quote the words of the poet, "old enmities forgotten, become one great family".

Communism is a society in which the productive forces have reached such a level that it is possible to implement the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Under communism there will be no classes, the social differences between town and country will disappear, and there will be an organic fusion of intellectual and physical work in human productive activity.

Under communism the work of each individual will become diverse and creative, and will be both an organic need and a means of developing one's abilities.

Communism is a highly organised society of free, equal and conscientious workers which will operate on the basis of social self-government. It is a scientifically run society in which men have achieved rational domination over the forces of nature.

Finally, communism is the development and realisation of the highest and most truly human of all human abilities, the ability to engage in creative activity, to identify and develop the noble capacities of the human mind and individual talents and qualities. It is a society whose central aim is the comprehensive and harmonious development of each individual.

It is, of course, obvious that the achievement of this goal is a difficult and complex task, and that there is much work to be done in every sphere of society. It is also clear that, viewed world-wide, imperialism will not willingly yield its position and make way for the new socio-economic formation, and that therefore there will be a long and arduous struggle.

Nonetheless, the successes achieved by existing socialism, and the experience gained by the world communist movement make it possible to assert that the victory of communism throughout the world is inevitable. It is inevitable because communism corresponds to the deepest aspirations and desires of the peoples of the earth and because it is the most humane social system, the one most worthy of men. It is inevitable because more and more millions from every continent are joining in the struggle to realise the ideals of communism.

It is inevitable because such is the irresistible law of the historical process discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

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